IQBAL

POET-PHILOSOPHER OF ISLAM

MUHAMMAD MUNAWWAR



"AND HOLD FAST, ALL OF YOU TO GATHER, TO THE CABLE OF ALLAH, AND DONOT SEPARATE"

(THE QURAN)

IQBAL
POET-PHILOSOPHER OF ISLAM

By : **PROF. MUHAMMAD MUNAWWAR**

IQBAL : POET-PHILOSOPHER OF ISLAM is a collection of articles such as : Prophet Ibrahim as a symbol in Iqbal's Poetry; Impact of Arabic Literature on Iqbal's Poetry; Iqbal and the Meaning of Education, Iqbal's Faith and Vision, etc.

The measure of a poet's personality and vision is the magnitude of his effectiveness — wether he impresses only a few persons on a particular intellectual level and of a particular view — point or he is capable of taking into confidence persons of every society, clime and era. When he becomes a friend of every society, clime and era, he no longer remains spatial or temporal. He becomes universal. He becomes boundless. Prof. Munawwar believes that Iqbal, to a great measure, fulfils that condition.

Iqbal as a firm believer in God and in the Truth revealed to the Holy Prophet (may peace be on him), was confident that Western Imperialism could not keep the world — the world of Islam under its subjugation for long. His hope never gave way apparantly even in the darkest moments of the plight of Mulims all over the world. The end of World War — I had left Muslims without even a single independent homeland. But Iqbal visualised and proclaimed forceful that the day of freedom was about to dawn upon the Muslim Ummah.

Price in Pakistan : [redacted]
Price ex Pakistan : [redacted]

Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Islam

محترم برادر واصف صاحب
واصف علی
آں خوش سیرت پیکر اخلاص

11/3/83

CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS
1882 1982
UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB

A Punjab University Centenary Book

IQBAL
POET-PHILOSOPHER OF ISLAM

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Islamic Book Foundation
An Institute of Islamic Research & Publications

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Publishers	:	Islamic Book Foundation 249-N, Samanabad, Lahore (Pakistan)
Printers	:	Everlight Printing Press, 33, Nisbet Road, Lahore
Distributors	:	Al-Ma'arif, Ganj Bakhsh Road, Lahore
Edition	:	1403 A.H./1982 A.D. (500 copies)

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INTRODUCTION

by

KHALID M. ISHAQUE

Iqbal and Quaid-i Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah were the two great spiritual catalysts for the *Ummah* in the Continent of Asia. They shared aspirations which had deepest roots in the soul of the *Ummah*. They made articulate what was felt universally, though inarticulately, by every sensitive Muslim of India. The difference between the two was that Iqbal spoke on behalf of the soul of the *Ummah* and all its poignant and earnest aspirations, and Quaid-i Azam gave these aspirations a political shape and provided the *Ummah* with a place of its own on the map of the world to germinate, to grow and to prosper.

The book in hand speaks of Iqbal. He was not only a catalyst for the *Ummah* of the subcontinent, but a great synthesist as well. In him converge numerous streams of the cumulative experience of the *Ummah* spread over thirteen centuries. Anyone who seeks to understand all that Iqbal has to say, and to suggest, has indeed to make a very long but rewarding journey.

Understanding the message of the Qur'ān for Iqbal is to undertake an exciting journey into the unfolding of the universe. Just as every particle in the universe, like the biggest of the bodies we can visualise, is subject to the laws of Allah and constantly responds to Him, each created being carries the imprint of His command and its submissive response (Q. xiii. 15). Man may not be the biggest and the most difficult of the creations, but he certainly appears the most favoured, inasmuch as Allah says

unto him : "And verily We have made subservient to you whatever is in the earth and in the skies" (Q. xxxi. 20).

Iqbal's constant effort, specially in his poetry, was to provide the Muslims glimpses of their true mission and destiny, and then to motivate them to seek this destiny by following the example of the perfect man—the Holy Prophet (S.A.S.), the culmination of prophethood (Q. iii. 81) and the last of the Prophets (Q. xxxiii. 40). The Qur'ān, according to Iqbal, guides man towards his final encounter with Allah, and to make this encounter the best of encounters, the Qur'ān points towards the Prophet (S.A.S.) as the example to be emulated (Q. xxxiii. 21).

The *Sunnah* of the Prophet (S.A.S.) for Iqbal is a dynamic concept. Its correct understanding is crucial for the *Ummah*. It does not consist in mindlessly duplicating details, but in internalising the manner and methodology with which the Prophet (S.A.S.) dealt with the problems arising in the human situation. The norm of an ordinary revolutionary is to destroy what went before him and then to rebuild a world after his heart's desire. The Prophet (S.A.S.), unlike the secular revolutionaries, affirmed what was good and creative in life, preserved all that has been achieved by the Prophets before him (peace be upon them) and yet welcomed change without stretched arms to make a new world according to Allah's desire. If mankind is the most favoured species in the universe, the world that the Prophets (peace be upon them) and above all the last Prophet (S.A.S.) wants to reconstruct is one in which each person would have the opportunity of finding meaning, development and fulfilment in terms which qualify him as the best of mankind in the eyes of Allah (Q. iii. 110).

It is in the light of such aspirations that the *Khuṭbah* of Ḥajjat al-Widā' represents the culmination of the Prophet's (S.A.S.) mission ; when after calling Allah and the whole *Ummah* as witnesses he declares :

Allah says : "O mankind ! We have created you from a male and a female ; and We have made you into families and tribes that you may recognise one another." Verily, the most honourable in the sight of Allah is he who is most righteous amongst you. A coloured man has no preference over a white man, nor a white man over a coloured man, nor an Arab over a non-Arab, nor a non-Arab over an Arab, except for righteousness.

O people ! your lives, your honours and your properties are to be respected by one another till the Day of Reckoning comes. They are to be respected as you respect this day (*Yaum al-'Arafah*) and this month (Dhul-Ḥajjah) in this city.

In the texture of Iqbal's poetry and prose the entire experience of the *Ummah* is reflected. Anyone who studies Iqbal finds alive and pulsating in his speculummentis the '*Ilm-i Kalām* (Philosophical Disputation), the sufi tradition, the poetic fancy and insight, combined into one stream.

The world of law too is not foreign to Iqbal's thought. In fact, he is deeply aware of the crisis that had overtaken the legal tradition of the Islamic world and the quagmire of stultification in which it was imprisoned on account of the self-imposed limitations. For Iqbal, *Ijtihād* was the key for escape from the gilded cage of our history. It was, however, for him, not a methodology of bringing Islam in line with modernity, but of recapturing the universe with the "spirit of abiding revolution" implicit in the Qur'ān and the idea of the finality of Prophethood. The Prophet (S.A.S.) in his own time, and his well-guided Companions after him encountered and dominated the whole world around them with confidence and with kindness, and established a relationship in terms of the intrinsic message of the Qur'ān. Similarly, for Iqbal, the Muslims had not merely to escape the prison of Muslim history and to enter the original dynamism of the Quranic message, and then to enter the modern world, not as strangers, but as "liberating conquerors," in line with the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (S.A.S.).

Iqbal uses two beautiful similitudes to illumine the role of law within the Muslim community. He

says that by submitting to the rule of construction, stones become Taj Mahal, and sounds, by submitting to the laws of harmony, become cosmic music. In the process of submitting to law, both stones and sounds are not only transformed qualitatively but find fulfilment in an infinitely higher and abiding dimension. The process of *Ijtihād* is really a continuing exercise of bringing individuals in such harmony with the laws of God, that they retain maximum freedom and are also guided towards their own fulfilment.

The *Sharī'ah*, according to Iqbal, has both the normative and the prescriptive elements and by a proper balance of the two a harmonious relationship with Allah and His created universe is established. All obligations, all duties, all rewards and all punishments are designed to make the ascent of man self-conscious and easier (Q. lxxx v. 19).

The book that is in your hand is one that seeks to introduce you to Iqbal in a manner which would enable the reader to undertake a journey like the one of which Iqbal speaks in *Jāvīd Nāmah* where Rūmī is his guide.

Professor Muhammad Munawwar, by his passion for Iqbal's studies, has almost identified himself with the message of Iqbal. By that qualification he is eminently suited to be a guide to the study of Iqbal and by this study to enable students to reach the source of light which kindles the lamp which Iqbal so beautifully displays to the world.

PREFACE

Ordinary poets like ordinary politicians try to gain immediate popularity. For this purpose they try to echo the demand whatever it be of the populace. The demand may be right. It may be wrong. But popularity-mongers must sing the popular song. No poet with such a low ambition can give birth to high poetry.

High poetry is almost always the outcome of a serious and unrelenting conflict between a poet's personality and surrounding circumstances. A genuine poet, like a genuine leader and teacher, is one who can change the circumstances of his society by changing the thinking and outlook of the people around. His message may even rise higher than the level of a society, even a nation, and may expand and affect many societies and nations. His message may outlive the times it was delivered in. Thus his poetry may prove to be universal and lasting. It is obvious that such boundless acclaim cannot be attaind unless the thought content and form of that poetry be equally excellent. Poetic art without beautiful and high thought or vice versa makes no poetry. For a poet, who is at the same time also a philosopher, the problem of fulfilling the demands of art becomes all the more difficult. To make philosophy sing is an enormously arduous job. Iqbal has succeeded in doing so.

A poet without a strong conviction can never conquer his milieu. In this sense Iqbal was a great conqueror. He had a purpose before him. It was a high purpose. Poets of the subcontinent contemporary to him had no goal to achieve. They had no message to deliver. Hali and Akbar, Iqbal's two elder contemporaries, can be characterised, to some extent, as exceptions. Iqbal had his own way. All his life

Iqbal toiled hard to make others see and feel what he saw and felt. In Iqbal's view, to live was to conquer. For rising higher than animal level, a person has first to subjugate the animal within him. To overpower ordinary, selfish desires is not an easy undertaking. To make one's capabilities conform to one's ideas and ideals is another difficulty to surmount. To live according to the dictates of intellect and faith, by subordinating instincts to them, is to be truly human. It is to become master in one's own house. Such a master is a genuine "self". He is an individual in the real sense of the word. He is a "self" wherein the soul dominates the body. He is an integrated whole.

Iqbal was a "self," a power, a will and an unfaltering faith. He discarded what could drag him downwards and hence attained what pulled him upwards. His own self was the first battlefield where he won his first victory. The salient feature of this victory was the dicision to live for others. He had decided to reawaken the slumbering spirits of the Muslim peoples while he was yet in England studying, as is explained in Chapter 3 of this book under the caption "Iqbal—Man of Faith and Vision". All his life, he stuck to that magnanimous decision with grim determination and ever-increasing faith.

He named his first book containing his Urdu poetry *Bāng-i Darā*, i.e. the Sound of the Caravan Bell. It is evident that his was not only a conscious effort; it was also a determined effort. To shake his Muslim brethren and wake them up, it required sustained struggle and unmitigating stamina. Besides, he had to face Western imperialism and Western ideologies. In his opinion Western imperialism was the greatest hindrance in the way of man's moral advancement. According to him, almost all Western ideologies and "isms" were basically materialistic, hence inimical to overall human good. He believed that no legal theory, way of life or moral code, devised by human reason only, could solve moral, social and political problems of

mankind and thus could not alleviate human distress.

Iqbal, therefore, had to rekindle the fire of self-consciousness and the notion of self-respect in the minds of the Muslims, who stood enslaved wherever they were, especially his own countrymen. Therefore he sang freedom-promoting songs. He denounced slavery in ruthless terms in whatever form it was in vogue in the world. He severely attacked materialism, the man-killing theory propounded by the Jews and supported generally by the atheists. He was not in a hurry. He was not disgusted. He knew he would do what it was in his power to do according to the best of his capabilities.

Iqbal was not without reason an unforgiving critic of all such arts as were fundamentally "anti-self". His Muslim brethren had developed the same languorous attitude which is generally the characteristic of all societies subjugated by foreigners, especially the foreigners who have their own distinct psychology, ethos and cultural standards.

Western imperialism apparently stood firm. All East had fallen prostrate at the feet of white rulers. British sway, too, looked well established in the sub-continent as in so many other countries of the world. It was difficult for the British people, in those days, even to think that their Empire would ever dwindle. In this regard also, Allamah Iqbal held his ground. He was sure that as Western Powers had no moral moorings, their technological strength alone could not keep them firm for a long time. Materialism and Machine had made them cruel. Iqbal could very confidently foresee that Powers with no morality and no human values must clash and bring about mutual destruction.

Iqbal's father was a devout Muslim, a dervish by temperament. He, when Iqbal completed his studies, once asked him to pay him back for the hardships he had undergone on account of educatiug him. Iqbal wanted to know as to how he could pay him back. His father told him that he could pay him back by

serving Islam. Iqbal's father died in 1930 and Iqbal had already become famous as a poet and a true servant of Islam. When Iqbal's father was on his death-bed, he very humbly asked his father if he had paid him back by serving the cause of Islam. The father replied in the affirmative. Yes, Iqbal had paid him back for the immeasurable trouble he had borne for the sake of his son's education. Allamah Iqbal had related this incident himself to Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi, when they were returning together in a car from Kabul in 1933.

We know Iqbal always avoided being called a poet. Why did he dislike being called a poet when he was a poet, in fact, a great poet? The cause is obvious. In his opinion his contemporary poets were predominantly professionals. For them writing verses was either a pastime or a means of earning bread. Iqbal took poetry very seriously. For him it was a sublime gift of God which could revolutionise the outlook of nations. Through genuine poetry dead souls could be re-enlivened. Cowards could be turned into great fighters for the great causes. Such a majestic and elevating boon should not have been made to serve petty cravings of low-ambitioned idlers. Abu Firas Hamdani, a contemporary of al-Mutanabbi, had repeatedly refused to call himself a poet. Here is given just one verse of his, showing the cause of this refrain:

نطقت بفضلی و امتدحت عشیرتی   و ما أنا مداح و ما أنا شاعر !

[I spoke of my own excellence. I extolled my relatives.
I am not a panegyrist. I am not a poet.]

He said poetically, he was not a poet. What he meant to say was that he was not a "professional".

Iqbal's purpose was absolutely different from that of poets in general. Poetry was his mighty sword which he wielded faithfully and sagaciously. He did not compose verses for the sake of fun. He did not create art for art's sake. He knew what he sought

after and he made it known to others:

نغمہ کجا و من کجا سازِ سخن بہانہ ایست
سوئے قطار می کشم ناقۂ بے زمام را !

[I have nothing to do with songs and their melodies. (It is not my purpose.) If I decorate my poetry with melody, it is a means to an end.
I am just bringing my reinless dromedary back to the file.]

Iqbal knew that his message, if presented in plain words, would not affect powerfully the hearts of listeners. This is why he decorated it with melody and offered it in the form of song. And here we confront the oft-repeated question whether Iqbal was fundamentally a philosopher or a poet. The answer is, he was both. Yet the poet in him had the better of the philosopher.

Iqbal, in a nutshell, was a clarion call to *Jihād* against slavery, blind imitation, lethargy, aimlessness both in thought and action, despondency, defeatism and faithlessness. He was a voice of Hope and the works he left behind are still inculcating hope in despair-ridden souls. He was a hero among poets. He was a hero among philosophers.

Iqbal was a practising lawyer. His practice was his main source of income. He took keen interest in all matters related to the Muslim *Ummah*, particularly those concerning Muslims of the subcontinent. He practically took part in his country's politics. He delivered dozens of lectures. He issued hundreds of statements pertaining to various problems. He wrote thousands of letters. He wrote numerous articles. He met people freely. He led a very busy life. He did not keep aloof from the hub of life, pondering and meditating. He was not a hermit-thinker or an escapist poet. He remained in the thick of the battle. It is he who led the leaders of Indian Muslims towards the pathway to Pakistan. Studied thus, he emerges as a great hero.

In the end I express my gratitude to Professor

R.A. Khan, Department of English, Government College, Lahore, for his valuable help in revising almost half the articles included in this book. I am particularly grateful to him for translating my article on Abul Asar Hafeez Jullundari from Urdu into English. I express my indebtedness to H.M. Arshad Qureshi, Chairman, Islamic Book Foundation, and Mr M. Ashraf Darr who took keen interest in undertaking and supervising the printing of this work. Lastly my thanks to Arshad and Jamil who typed the manuscript.

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December 1982

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IMPACT OF ARABIC LITERATURE ON IQBAL'S POETRY

In the concluding paragraph of his celebrated book on Iqbal: *Na'ī Tashkīl*, Aziz Ahmad observed thus:

> After having read all of Iqbal's poetry, one feels obliged to read a lot around him (to understand him), for example Rūmī, Nietzsche, Bergson, al-Jīlī, Greek philosophy, Muslim philosophy, ancient Hindu philosophy, modern European philosophy, German, Latin and English poetry, Persian and Urdu *ghazal*, and after having read all this when you come back to Iqbal you feel you have yet to read a lot.

In my opinion the study of Arabic literature is also one of the most important branches of learning needed in respect of understanding Iqbal's poetry and thought. Iqbal vehemently claims that the spirit of his poetry and thought is Arabic:

عجمی خُم ہے تو کیا ، مے تو حجازی ہے مری
نغمہ ہندی ہے تو کیا ، لے تو حجازی ہے مری[1]

[If my jar is Persian, does not matter,
My wine is Arabian.
If my song is Indian, does not matter,
My melody is Arabian.]

The impact of Arab poets on Iranian poets is obvious. Through the Persian language that impact passed on to Urdu. As is well known, the tempera-

1. *Bāng-i Darā/Kulliyāt-i Iqbāl Urdū*, p. 170. References of Iqbal's poetical works are to the *Kulliyāt* editions.

ment of Arabic poetry, like the Arabs of the desert, is peculiar. Its influence also on whatever language it happens to be is conspicuous. Garcia Gomez, a Spanish Orientalist, remarks, and aptly so, that all the poetry of the world of Islam is, in a way, impressed by Arabic poetry. He explains that the mode of life of the great majority of Arab tribes was constant journey. They were always on the move in search of pools and pastures. Now they were here, then there, hence a considerable part of their poetry deals with abandoned places of encampment, where sometime back there dwelt the beloved or one of the beloveds of the poet. Again, this poetry describes the reminiscences of the parted friends. It depicts the caravans that passed by and places of short sojourn which were sometimes specified and sometimes not. It tells of the journeys which were not measurable in terms of miles ; there were no milestones. And still more, there were no destinations. Further this Spanish Orientalist states that on account of this nature of Arabian life and its influence on Arabic poetry, the poetry of other Islamic peoples too contains a similar view of life at large and the world they live in. For them also, existence assumes the character of a caravan, always on the move, passing and disappearing. The long and short of the story of life is, "God alone is Eternal".

Garcia's statement, as is obvious, is not without a strain of exaggeration, yet there is no denying the fact that several favourite themes of Arab poets have their impress upon the poetry, of not only non-Arab Muslim poets, but also of non-Muslim poets who composed verses in languages of Islamic peoples.

The favourite themes of Arab poets went alongwith Arab conquerors to countries far away from Arabia. For example, Arabs became masters of Spain and settled down there. The geographical and climatic conditions of Spain are quite different from those desert regions which is real Arabia. Yet the Arabic odes composed in Spain contain almost the same patterns, themes and especially the beginnings which invariably portrayed the camels, the caravans, far-flung places of encampment, separated beloveds, pools surrounded by sand-dunes, pastures, pieces of strings, stones blackened by the fire while they served as hearth, etc. Not only this, we also know of many poets who were born in big cities, lived in narrow lanes and died there, but have still described caravans and depicted long journeys through vast deserts. Take just one example of Mirza Ghalib, one of the most renowned poets of the Urdu language. He was born in Agra and died in Delhi. Perhaps in his whole life he had not seen any desert encampment. He had never seen vast waterless tracts interspersed with big sand-dunes. He had never lived in wool tents nor had he loved any woman who belonged to tent-dwelling tribes, encamping in a desert. Yet he says :

کہاں تک روؤں اس کے خیمے کے پیچھے قیامت ہے
مری قسمت میں یا رب کیا نہ تھی دیوار پتھر کی

[How long should I weep and bewail behind the tent of my beloved?

O God! could there be no stone wall for me? (so that I could dash my head against it and get rid of the pangs of separation).]

And here is Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, a poet of Muslim Spain :

تزكرت ودا للجيب كانه ! لخولة اطلال ببرقه ثهمد
و عهدى لعهد كان لى منه ثابت يلوح كبا فى الوشم فى طاهر اليد

[The remembrance of my beloved took hold of me (afresh) as if it were the remains of Khaulah's abode on the hard ground of Thahmad.

The bond of love between me and my sweetheart was durable. (The memory of that bond also came to me afresh.) And looked like the remnants of tattoo marks on the back of the hand.]

In fact the second hemistich of each of these two verses belongs to Ṭarafah, a poet of the *Jāhilīyyah* (the age of Ignorance). And the two hemistiches make the first verse (*Maṭla*') of Ṭarafah's Ode which is one of the famous Seven Suspended Odes (*al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab*')

This phenomenon, i.e. Arabic themes in non-Arab territories, may look, *prima facie*, unnatural, but in fact if we regard the matter with a discerning eye it becomes clear that the mental atmosphere is also as real as the physical one. Thoughts, ideas and images that dwell in our minds become a part of us notwithstanding the fact that they spring from a country or place we do not belong to or have not even visited. According to the measure of influence upon our minds we, in a way, begin to live those alien thoughts and images. Though unconsciously, we become as if we belonged to the surroundings from which those cherished thoughts and images had originated.

Iqbal was fond of Arabic literature. It was Maulānā Sayyid Mīr Ḥasan who taught him Arabic. Sir Abdul Qadir, in his Preface to *Bāng-i Darā*, alluding to the Maulānā, said :

The peculiarity of his teaching is that he inculcates the real taste of the Arabic and Persian languages in the minds of his

students.[2]

Iqbal learnt Arabic and Persian thoroughly. Then he learnt Urdu and became well versed in it. But in my opinion it was the spirit of Arabic literature that got into his soul. The Arabic language belonged to Arabia and he loved Arabia because his Beloved (Prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon him) had lived and lay buried there. That territory being the homeland of the Beloved possessed Iqbal's head and heart. This is how the Arabic element became an important part of his mental atmosphere. And we know, life in Arabia was tough. It was perpetual movement and constant toil. Every tribe and every member of the tribe had to be always on the alert and efficient, otherwise the pastures and waters were in danger of being taken over by others. This did not mean the loss of some sort of possession only; it meant rather the loss of the sources of life. Life in Arabia and especially the Arabia of those days was not something taken for granted. Every moment had to be consciously lived. Therefore every alert moment meant an achievement.

This geographical and social perspective of Iqbal's arena of love and devotion played a conspicuous part in shaping the pattern of his thought and his view on life and of life. Here is the parting of the ways of Iqbal and Tagore. Their forbears had belonged to the same religion, i.e. Hinduism. Their country (the then united Pak-India subcontinent) was the same. They, to a great extent, inherited the same political conditions. But they differed widely in respect of their

2. These faithful words were written when the Maulānā was still alive.

thought-patterns, views and philosophy. One (Tagore) became the guardian of Buddha's inheritance and the other (Iqbal) that of Abraham (peace be upon him). One is the messenger of tranquillity and the other that of vitality.

But Iqbal evolved into what he came to be known for, very gradually. He went up step by step. His mental evolution and progress as a poet is quite discernible. Every stage is obvious. We find that in the first two sections of the *Bāng-i Darā*, Arabic influences are few. But when he returned from Europe his outlook had undergone a positive change. One of the salient features of this change was that he renounced the idea of Indian Nationalism and appropriated the concept of Muslim Nationhood (*Ummah*). This shift is easily discernible in the *Asrār-i Khudī* (1915) and the third section of *Bāng-i Darā*.

It sustained till the last of Iqbal's books, *Armughān-i Ḥijāz* which was published after his death. The concept of Muslim Nationhood (*Ummah*) made itself felt off and on in several manners and various colours. It is obvious that in Iqbal's poetry Arabia no longer remained a geographical entity only but had turned into a figure of speech as well.

Arabia and the Arabic language have influenced Iqbal's poetry in different ways. Somewhere the influence is direct and tangible. On occasions it is symbolic. At times it appears in images. Directly he would say, for example, referring to the Arabs belonging to the era of the rise of Islam :

تمدن آفریں ، خلاقِ آئینِ جہاں داری
وہ صحرائے عرب ، یعنی شتربانوں کا گہوارا

[The Arabian desert which (apparently) was only the abode

of camel-herds, in reality was a designer of civilisations and a creator of the legal framework of sovereignty.]

غرض میں کیا کہوں تجھ سے کہ وہ صحرا نشیں کیا تھے
جہاں گیر و جہاں دار و جہاں بان و جہاں آرا[3]

[In short, it is not possible to explain to you what qualities thhse desert-dwellers possessed. They were great conquerors, rulers, preservers and adorners of the world.]

Similarly, when Iqbal declares that the contemporary era is the fruit of Arabian people's perspiring toils who turned their blood into water of the all-round progress of humanity, he is again direct in his exposition :

عصرِ حاضر زادۂ ایامِ تست   مستیٔ او از مئے گلفامِ تست
شارحِ اسرارِ او تو بودۂ   اولیں معمارِ او تو بودۂ[4]

[The present age is the offspring of your days. Its intoxication is due to your rosy wine. It is you who explained its secrets. It is you who were its first founder.]

And, still he is almost direct when he said :

مردِ صحرا پاسبانِ فطرت است

[The desert-dweller is the sentinel of Nature.]

He was hopeful of the "reawakening of the desert-tiger, the same one who had subjugated the Eastern Roman Empire". But, as already stated, these are direct hints. Real beauty lies in verses wherein the Arabic spirit is infused indirectly, e.g. through similes, metaphors, allusions, proverbs, figures of speech, and images which carry the reader unconsciously to the Arabian surroundings. It should be made clear that the impact of the Qur'ān and that of the Sayings of

3. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 180.
4. *Pas Chih Bāyad Kard*, p. 42/838.

the Prophet (peace be upon him) is not addressed here. That needs a separate treatment. Here I confine myself to some elements of Arabic literature only.

It would look agreeable if a poem from *Bāng-i Darā* captioned *Khiḍr-i Rāh* be taken for a guide. *Khiḍr-i Rāh* means "The Guide". The opening paragraph of the poem reads thus :

شاعر

چھوڑ کر آبادیاں رہتا ہے تو صحرا نورد
زندگی تیری ہے بے روز و شب و فردا و دوش

خضر

کیوں تعجب ہے مری صحرا نوردی پر تجھے ؟
یہ تگاپوئے دما دم زندگی کی ہے دلیل

اے رہینِ خانہ تو نے وہ سماں دیکھا نہیں
گونجتی ہے جب فضائے دشت میں بانگِ رحیل !

ریت کے ٹیلے پہ وہ آہو کا بے پروا خرام
وہ حضر بے برگ و ساماں ، وہ سفر بے سنگ و میل !

وہ نمودِ اخترِ سیماب پا ہنگامِ صبح
یا نمایاں بامِ گردوں سے جبینِ جبرئیل[4] !

وہ سکوتِ شامِ صحرا میں غروبِ آفتاب
جس سے روشن تر ہوئی چشمِ جہاں بینِ خلیل[4] !

اور وہ پانی کے چشمے بر مقامِ کارواں
اہلِ ایماں جس طرح جنت میں گردِ سلسبیل !

تازہ ویرانے کی سودائے محبت کو تلاش
اور آبادی میں تو زنجیریٔ کشت و نخیل !

پختہ تر ہے گردشِ پیہم سے جامِ زندگی
ہے یہی اے بے خبر رازِ دوامِ زندگی !

[*The Poet*

You desert habitations and roam about in the deserts. Your life is without day and night. It has neither yesterday nor to-morrow.

Khiḍr

Why are you amazed over my desert rovings ? This constant dash and dart is the testimony of life.

You are a home-bound person. How can you enjoy the thrill when in the vasts of the desert the clarion call resounds "resume march" ?

It is a pleasure to see the carefree loiterings of a deer on a sand-dune. Stay is without belongings. Journey has no milestone.

It is a pleasure to see the morning-star appear at about day-break :

It quivers like the quicksilver and is charming like Gabriel's brow beaming on the horizon.

It is a pleasure to see the sun set in the silent evening of the desert, on account of which the world-encompassing vision of Abraham became keener and brighter.

It is a pleasure to see the caravan stop at the pool of water. The gathering of caravaneers around the pool is like the gathering of the faithful around the fountain *Salsabīl* in Paradise.

Love-madness is in search of new unpopulated vasts while you are enchained to a little farm and a small date-grove.

Through constant circulation the cup of life goes on gathering strength. This and this only is the secret behind the perpetuity of life. But you are unaware of this fact.]

The perusal of these verses unfolds before the eyes of our imagination a desert phantasmagoria. The call to move on, sand-dunes, carefree loiterings of the deer, sojourns without belongings, and journeys without milestones, gathering of caravaneers around the pool of water, etc., portray the spirit of the odes of the olden days. The verse dealing with the water-pool and *Salsabīl* (a fountain in Paradise) paints a beautiful commingling of the Arabian and Islamic sensi-

bilities. Enchainment to a little farm and a small date-grove also deserves attention because Iqbal had in his mind a desert-dwelling and the chains of those who dwell there are nothing but these farmlets and date-grovelets. And, we know that Iqbal had not seen these phenomena with his own eyes. It was the study of Arabic literature which Arabicised his mind.

We know people who are Anglophile, without ever having been to England or any other country where English is the only official and literary medium. But the deep study of English literature has influenced them to such an extent that the word river would not bring to their mind the river Sind or Jhelum, rather the image would be that of the Thames.

Iqbal had stopped at Jerusalem for a day or two while returning from the Third Round Table Conference held in London for seeking a solution to the communal problems of the Indian peoples, especially the Muslims and the Hindus. Iqbal did not penetrate into the Arabian desert. Jerusalem is not situated in a desert. Whatever he depicted in the above verses was an endowment of Arab bards.

From Jerusalem we see our attention diverted to Medina. We have a poem by Iqbal captioned *Dhauq-o Shauq*.[5] It is an epithetic poem epitomising his sincerest devotion to the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). In the opening lines of the poem Iqbal describes a spectacle, the real beauty of which cannot be fully appreciated without looking at it as mirrored in the Arabic poetry :

قلب و نظر کی زندگی دشت میں صبح کا سماں
چشمۂ آفتاب سے نور کی ندیاں رواں !

5. *Bāl-i Jibril*, pp. 111-14/403-06.

سرخ و کبود بدلیاں چھوڑ گیا سحابِ شب !
کوہ اضم کو دے گیا رنگ برنگ طیلساں !
گرد سے پاک ہے ہوا ، برگِ نخیل دھل گئے
ریگِ نواحِ کاظمہ نرم ہے مثلِ پرنیاں !
آگ بجھی ہوئی ادھر ، ٹوٹی ہوئی طناب اُدھر
کیا خبر اس مقام سے گزرے ہیں کتنے کارواں !

[The sight of day-break in a desert is enlivening to the heart and vision. It looks as if luminous brooks are flowing from the fountain of the rising sun.

The heavy night-cloud has left behind it red and blue cloudlets as if it (the night-cloud) has given gowns of various hews and colours to the mount Iḍam to wear.

Air is clean, there are no dust particles in it. Leaves of date-palms have been washed and the sand around Kāẓimah soft like velvet.

The remains of burnt-out fire are observable here and a piece of tent-rope there. Who knows how many caravans have passed through this tract.]

In these verses mount Iḍam and the sand around Kāẓimah are pointers to Medina, the illuminated city of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). Medina is situated in a vale of mount Iḍam while Kāẓimah stands for a habitat where the Beloved dwells. Kāẓimah stood near the city of Baṣrah although the latter came to be built much later. Some poets of *Jāhilī* era as well as of the era of Islam have alluded to *Kāẓimah* ; for example we have :

الم یبلغک ما فعلت ظباہ   بکاظمة غداة لقیت عمرا

[Have not the news reached you how badly 'Amr was treated by his deer-like beloved at Kāẓimah in the morning of the day I met him ('Amr)?]

Similarly Imām Buṣīrī, in his famous Ode "Burdah," alludes to the city of the Prophet (peace be

on him) through Kāẓimah :

ام ہبت الریح من تلقاء کاظمة !   او اومض البرق فی الظلماء من اضم !

[Perhaps it is the gust of wind coming from the surroundings of Kāẓimah or maybe it is a flash of lightning in the dark sent from Mount Iḍam.]

And, about Iḍam, another poet says :

بانت سعاد و امسی حبلها الصرما !   و احتلت الغور و الاجرع من اضم

[Su'ād, my beloved, went away and broke the tie of love. She has now settled down in the vale of Iḍam near Ghaur and Ajra'.]

We know that most of the verses of *Dhauq-o Shauq* were composed in Palestine. But Iqbal, through his imagination, seemed visiting the vicinities of Medina. Pangs of separation made him restless. His heart leapt out to the city of the Beloved (peace be on him). This turbulent desire agitated him. It was a state of spiritual nearness while bodily the poet was still far off. It gave him a feeling of restless pleasure and pleasant restlessness. Anyway, the spectacle before the eyes of imagination was that of the Beloved's abode. It is this rapturous spiritual state which in the beams of the sun saw the flow of luminous brooks, while the cloudlets looked like silken gowns and the sand softened into velvet. The whole atmosphere had become resplendent, colourful, gentle and fragrant. Only a feeling of deep love could work this wonder. And, as for the remains of burnt-out fires and pieces of tent-ropes, they partake of the popular themes of Arab poets.

Study of Iqbal's poetry shows that with the passage of time his love for Islam grew in intensity and accordingly a particular type of vocabulary

increased, e.g. caravan (*qāfilah*), rein (*zāmam*), she-camel (*nāqah*), place of stoppage (*maqām*), public fountain (*sabīl*), stage (*manzil*), litter (*maḥmil*), tent-rope (*ṭanāb*), tent (*khaimah*), date-palm (*nakhīl*), dates (*nakhīl*), etc.

He says:

بهر جائے کہ خواہی خیمہ گستر
طناب از دیگراں جستن حرام است[6]

[Put up your tent wherever you like, but to beg even a tent-rope from others is tantamount to sin.]

اس سے بڑھ کر اور کیا ہوگا طبیعت کا فساد !
توڑ دی بندوں نے آقاؤں کے خیموں کی طناب[7]

[Temperaments could not become more corrupt The slaves cut off the ropes of their masters' tents.]

قافلۂ حجاز میں ایک حسین بھی نہیں ؟[8]

[Is there not a single Ḥusain in the whole of the Caravan of Ḥijāz (meaning Muslim *Ummah*) ?]

مجھ کو خبر نہ تھی کہ ہے علم نخیلِ بے رطب ![9]

[I never knew that knowledge was like such a date-palm as did not bear fresh and ripe dates.]

The last two lines have been taken from *Dhauq-o Shauq*. The whole atmosphere of the poem as explained before is Arabian.

We had *nakhīl* (date-palm) in *Khiḍr-i Rāh* and similarly in *Dhauq-o Shauq*. Now, this word leads us to another very important poem by Iqbal and that is *Masjid-i Qurṭubah*. The paragraphs of this poem, too, like those of the *Dhauq-o Shauq* are in the

6. *Armughān-i Ḥijāz* (Persian), p. 62/944.
7. Ibid. (Urdū), p. 8/650.
8. *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 112/404.
9. Ibid., p. 114/406.

pattern of *ghazal*, but the verses have no *radīf*, i.e. the rhyming word. Iqbal, addressing the Mosque, stated in its praise :

تیری بنا پائیدار تیرے ستون بے شمار
شام کے صحرا میں ہو جیسے ہجومِ نخیل[10]

[Your foundation is sound. Your columns are innumerable. They look like a thick grove of date-palm in the Syrian desert.]

This poem was composed in Spain, yet the intellectual atmosphere of Arabia prevailed because the Mosque was founded and built by the Arab rulers of Spain. Naturally the temperament of the poem has become Arabian. And, it was quite befitting to similarise the columns to a thick grove of date-palms belonging to the Syrian desert. Why particularly a Syrian desert ? Here lies the beauty of conformity because the founder of the Mosque 'Abd al Raḥmān al-Dākhil had come from Syria, the same ruler who had planted the first date-palm on the Spanish soil and, while planting the tree, he wept profusely in remembrance of his homeland to which he could never expect to return. He composed some verses pertaining to that occasion, the free translation of which is given in the *Bāl-i Jibrīl*.[11]

Iqbal addressed the Mosque showing it as at par with the sanctuary of the Ka'bah on account of its spaciousness, sublimity and sanctity. About five centuries before Iqbal, a Spanish poet Ibn al-Muthannā had addressed the mosque in the same tenor and metaphorically called it the sanctuary of the Ka'bah. He says :

بنيت الله خير بيت   نخرس عن وصفه الانام !

10. Ibid., p. 96/388.   11. Ibid., pp. 102-03/394-95.

حج الیہ من کل اوب کانہ المسجد الحرام !
کانہ محرابہ ازا ما ! حف بہ الرکن و المقام

[The dignified house has been built for God. Its description is beyond the eloquence of people.

Pilgrims come to it from all sides as if it were the sanctuary of the Ka'bah.

And, when it becomes surrounded by the pilgrims, the niche looks like the *Rukn* (column) and *Maqām* (*Maqām-i Ibrāhīm*) of the Ka'bah.]

The admonitory and lesson-conveying atmosphere of the Mosque turned Iqbal to eternal principles of rise and fall. It is Time that works upon the world and those who inhabit it. Iqbal pondered over the question : how nations progress and then decline, how they rise and then fall. It gave him hope because if rise be not permanent, fall also is transitory. Darkness of dismay must vanish. Light of hope must appear. In short, Muslims may again come to power and establish their rule over territories which, centuries ago, had become their homeland. Iqbal addressed the river al-Kabīr that flows at a short distance from the Mosque and expressed a hope which for him was, in the near future, to demonstrate itself as a concrete reality :

آبِ روانِ کبیر ! تیرے کنارے کوئی
دیکھ رہا ہے کسی اور زمانے کا خواب
پردہ اٹھا دوں اگر چہرۂ افکار سے
لا نہ سکے گا فرنگ میری نواؤں کی تاب[12]

[Hearken ! you river al-Kabir, that somebody at your bank is visualising some other era (which is about to dawn).

If I unveil the face of my broodings, then people of Europe would not be able to forbear my chantings.]

12. Ibid., p. 100/392.

At the bank of this very river, Abū Bakr ibn al-Lubānat al-Dānī had sung, about eight hundred years before Iqbal, a doleful song in the memory of Banū 'Abbād. Mu'tamid belonged to this lineage. In *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, we find a small but touching poem captioned "Lamentations of Mu'tamid from His Prison-Cell" (*Mu'tamid Kī Faryād Qaid Khāne Men*).[13] This is a free translation of some verses composed by Muḥammad Mu'tamid ibn Mu'taḍid 'Abbādī who was enchained by Yūsuf ibn Tāshifīn in the year 484 A.H. and imprisoned at a place called Aghmāt under the foot of Mount Atlas in Morocco. Mu'tamid has been eulogised by many poets contemporary as well as those who belonged to later periods for his charity, his love, his patronage of letters, and his hospitality, liberality, and glamour.

Poet Ibn al-Lubānah, also at the bank of the same river al-Kabīr, brooded pensively. His imagination went back to the days when the members of the favourite Banū 'Abbād were led to the boats and ships which sailed alongwith the flow of the river to the Mediterranean Sea. He, too, like Iqbal, pondered over the principle of rise and fall of the dynasties and in this mood visualised the past glory and pomp of the early period of the Abbasid Caliphate. Iqbal seems to have eulogised the Muslim rulers of Spain with more pathos than the one he felt for others.

He says :

ساقیٔ اربابِ ذوق ، فارسِ میدانِ شوق
بادہ ہے اس کا رحیق ، تیغ ہے اس کی اصیل ![14]

13. Ibid., pp. 101-02/393-94.

14. Ibid., p. 97/389.

[He is cup-bearer of those who possess taste. But in the field of achievement he is a brave man.

His wine is strong and unmixed. His sword is made of pure steel.]

As for Ibn al-Lubānah, he is especially devoted to Banū 'Abbād and has praised them lavishly. For example :

تبکی السماء بمزن رائح غادی   علی البہالیل من أبناء عباد !
علی الجبال التی ہدت قواعدہا   و کانت الارض منہم ذات اوتاد

[The sky sheds profuse tears, day and night, in the form of rain to mourn the demise of the chiefs of 'Abbād family.

They were strong and high like mountains. Now they have been uprooted. They were persons who had been stakes of strength to the earth.]

The hemistich of 'Allāmah Iqbal :

بادہ ہے اس کا رحیق ، تیغ ہے اس کی اصیل !

shows clearly that he drank deep at the Arabian spring. "Only he who can fall well, can paint well," is an old saying.

Ṭhe word *Nakhīl* (date-palm) had led us to Qurṭubah. The Arabs say *Nakhīl* (date-palm) is their aunt. Then let the aunt tell their story. Here, all of a sudden the words of the Mahdī of Sudan, contained in *Jāvīd Nāmah* of Iqbal, attract our attention. Mahdī addresses his dromedary driver thus :

ناقہ مست ِ سبزہ و من مست ِ دوست   او بدست ِ تست و در دست ِ دوست !
آب را کردند بر صحرا سبیل   بر جبل ہا شستہ اوارق ِ نخیل !
ساربان یاران بہ یثرب ما بہ نجد   آں حدی کو ناقہ را آرد بہ وجد ![15]

[The dromedary is absorbed in greenery and I in my friend. The dromedary is under your control while I am under the commands of my friend.

Desert has been given water gratuitously. And on mountains

15. *Jāvīd Nāmah*, p. 98/686.

the leaves of date-palm look bathed and washed.

O cameleer, companions go to Yathrib but we go to Najd. Where is that song, the chants of which enrapture the dromedary (so that she could run more swiftly as if intoxicated and hence would not feel fatigued).]

For Iqbal here Yathrib stood for a city and Najd, the abode of the Beloved. The goal was the abode of love.

The Mahdī of Sudan has been depicted as going towards Medina, the holy city of the Holy Prophet. Naturally he wants to reach there as soon as possible. God's merciful rain has bestowed its invigorating showers on the surroundings. The dromedary cannot resist the charm of the green grass spreading around. She now and then stops to have a morsel or two. Water is plentiful, sparkling here and there. Leaves and branches of every date-palm look clean and washed. None without the genuine taste of Arabic literature and love for Islam and the Prophet of Islam (peace be on him) could have been able to draw these words from Mahdī's mouth.

Iqbal's depiction of the mentality and outlook of the Arabs of *Jāhilīyyah* in the *Jāvīd Nāmah* is highly admirable. The Ṭā-Sīn of Muḥammad (peace be on him) opens with the laments of Abū Jahl in the vicinity of the sanctuary of the Ka'bah. That the Arabs were proud of their lineage and tribe, is well known. For them all peoples other than the Arabs were tongueless societies. They looked with deep scorn at all languages other than Arabic. Iqbal has artistically epitomised in a few verses the mental framework of the Arabs of the *Jāhilī* era, i.e. the era just before the advent of Islam. He makes Abū Jahl their interpreter and this is what

he has to say against the Prophet (peace be on him):

مذہبِ او قاطعِ ملک و نسب   از قریش و منکر از فضلِ عرب
قدرِ احرارِ عرب نشناختہ   با کلفتانِ حبش در ساختہ !
این مساوات، این مواخات اعجمی است   خوب می دانم کہ سلمان مزدکی است
ابن عبدالله فریبش خوردہ است   رستخیزے بر عرب آوردہ است !
اعجمی را اصل عدنانی کجاست   گنگ را گفتار سحبانی کجاست
چشمِ خاصانِ عرب گر دیدہ کور   بر نیائی اے زہیر از خاکِ گور ؟
اے ہبل ، اے بندہ را پوزش پزیر   خانۂ خود را ز بے کیشاں بگیر
گلۂ شاں را بگرگاں کن سبیل   تلخ کن خرماے شاں را بر نخیل
اے منات اے لات ازیں منزل مرو   گر ز منزل می روی از دل مرو
اے ترا اندر دو چشمِ ما وثاق
سہلتے ان کنت ازمعت الفراق[16]

[His, i.e. the Holy Prophet's (peace be upon him), religion is a deadly enemy of possessions and blood-relationship. Himself a Quraishite (a proud Arab tribe) he denies the superiority of the Arabs (to other peoples),

He has not made a correct estimate of the freedom-loving Arabs and has developed friendship with thick-built (or thick-lipped) Negroes.

This profession of equality and fraternity is an Iranian (non-Arab) stance. I know perfectly well that Salmān (who hailed from Iran) is a follower of Mazdak (the totalitarianist).

The son of 'Abd Allah (the Prophet) has been deceived by Salmān and has delivered the Arabs to tumult and commotion.

How can an Iranian (a non-Arab) belong to the lineage of 'Adnān? How can a dumb person be equal to Saḥbān in eloquence?

Eyes of the Arab chiefs and men of distinction have lost sight in looking for you. O Zuhair! would you not come out of your grave (to sing the songs of the Arab's grandeur)?

O Hubal, the merciful master of this servant! take back your House (the sunctuary of Ka'bah where goddesses like Hubal, Lāt, Manāt and others had been placed by the Arabs of

16. Ibid., pp. 55-56/643-44.

the pre-Islamic periods) from the hands of the irreligious folk.

Give their herd to the wolves in charity and turn their date bitter on its tree.

O Manāt and Lāt, do not leave this abode, and if at all you must depart, then please do not forsake our hearts.

O you who have strong ties with our eyes, if you have made up your mind to depart, then please give us some time.]

Saḥbān Wā'il was a firy orator of the *Jāhilī* era and Zuhair ibn Abī Salmah was one of the three or four greatest poets of that era. The words ان کنت از سعت الفراق [if you are bent upon departing] turn our attention to the famous Suspended Ode of Imrā' al-Qais, also of the same period. The following, in particular, mirror the nature, the mind, and the disposition of the Arabs of that age :

از قریش و منکر از فضلِ عرب

[Himself a Quraishite, he (Muhammad, peace be on him) denies the superiority of the Arabs.]

گنگ را گفتار سحبانی کجاست

[How can a dumb person be equal to Saḥbān in eloquence ?]

تلخ کن خرمائے شاں را بر نخیل

[Turn their date bitter on its tree.]

Here we have dealt with just a very small part of the pristine Arabian atmosphere. If we look at the theme of *Jāvīd Nāmah* we find that it, too, belongs to Arab literary ancestry. The idea of sky-roaming and visiting both Heaven and Hell was perhaps, first of all, given by Abul-Hasan Manṣūr known as Ibn al-Qāriḥ. He was one of the senior contemporaries of Abū 'Alā al-Ma'arrī (d. 449 A.H.). Ibn al-Qāriḥ belonged to Aleppo and was a literary figure of his age. As is stated in Dr Umar Farrukh's *Tārīkh al-Fikr al-*

'*Arabī*, Ibn al-Qāriḥ had an aversion for a number of poets and literary figures who ignored religious duties, were given to drinking and wrote erotic poetry. Hence, in his view, their destiny was Hell. He wrote a small book dealing with this topic and sent it to al-Ma'arrī. In reply al-Ma'arrī wrote his celebrated "Epistle of Forgivenness (*Risālat al-Ghufrān*). The theme of this "Epistle" is the encompassing mercy of God. Al-Ma'arrī depicted different spectacles of Paradise where he came across many poets belonging to the Islamic era. There he met some poets who had died before the advent of Islam and, without having embraced Islam, were enjoying boons of God. Imrā' al-Qais, Zuhair, 'Ābid ibn Abras, and others were among them. Al-Ma'arrī hated religious fanaticism. He, through his "Epistle," tried to convey his idea of the all-embracing Forgiveness of God. At several places the style is sarcastic. The target of his sarcasm, as is obvious, was Ibn al-Qāriḥ and all others who, like him, were narrow-minded jurists and religious scholars who were always on the lookout for driving men of letters to Hell, their only sin being that they did not look as pious as their critics themselves, according to their own supposition, were. They felt pleasure in driving human beings to the Fire even over a paltry fault or negligence in respect of religious duties or on account of some moral laxity.

We find al-Ma'arrī inquisitive about the reason of the forgiveness of poets, especially those who belonged to the *Jāhilī* days. Imrā' al-Qais is shown giving his own reason for having been forgiven. 'Ābid ibn Abras and Zuhair, and similarly others, explained the why of their being blessed with boons of Paradise.

Al-Ma'arrī wanted to impress upon the minds of the readers of his *Risālat al-Ghufrān* that the Forgiveness for the Servants of God was unlimited. God pardons sin. God rewards every good act howsoever trivial. This topic has been discussed by Asin in some detail in his book *Islam and the Divine Comedy.*

Ibn al-'Arabī's *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* is a book much more known than al-Ma'arrī's *Risālah. Futūḥāt* also contains the sky-roaming theme with scenes of Paradise and Hell, alongwith other stations commensurate with the actions of human beings. That *al-Futūḥāt* influenced Dante's *Divine Comedy* is borne out by Asin in his book, *Islam and the Divine Comedy.* Some other Orientalists also, for example Grunebaum in *Medieval Islam*, make mention of the same fact. The effect of *al-Futūḥāt* on the *Divine Comedy* is specially pronounced in relation to different stages of Paradise and Hell.

Then we have *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn* by Ḥallāj which has influenced *Jāvīd Nāmah. Jāvīd Nāmah* contains four parts. Each part is called a *Ṭāsīn* : (1) *Ṭā-Sīn* of Gautam ; (2) *Ṭā-Sīn* of Zartusht ; (3) *Ṭā-Sīn* of Masīḥ (peace be upon him) ; (4) *Ṭā-Sīn* of Muḥammad (peace be upon him). This word *Ṭā-Sīn*, as it is obvious, has come from Ḥallaj's *al-Ṭawāsīn.*

In *Jāvīd Nāmah*, too, the same magnanimity is shown as was expressed in al-Ma'arrī's *Risālat al-Ghufrān.* Iqbal and al-Ma'arrī, unlike Dante, do not dishonour any Prophet or even any important person belonging to a non-Muslim community. His three chapters in *Jāvīd Nāmah* belong to Gautam, Masīḥ and Zartusht. And, besides. a reverential reference is made to Bhartri Hari and Vishvamitr (*Jahān Dost*),

two sages of ancient India. Iqbal, like al-Ma'arrī, has explained that God's mercy has no bounds, neither racial nor geographical. Iqbal did not consign to the fire of Hell any poet, scholar or religious leader. He has depicted the phenomena of Zuḥal (Saturn) where there is a river of blood. In that river two persons are shown rising and falling. They suffer from a highly painful and suffocating punishment by God. They were Mīr Ja'far of Bengal and Mīr Ṣādiq of Deccan (Mysore). They earned this horrible punishment, not because they had sinned against God, but because they had been traitorous to their nation and homeland. Their role had been amongst the worst causes of the decline of Muslim power in the Pak-India subcontinent and thus they had thrown their nation to the abominable abyss of slavery. And, in Iqbal's view, slaves are nothing but breathing dead bodies. Iqbal warns all to beware of traitors. The nature of traitors is the same whether they belong to olden days or they belong to our era. One thing for the benefit of traitors, if they be in a mood to hearken:

این جہاں بے ابتدا بے انتہاست ! بندۂ غدار را مولا کجاست ؟[17]

[This Universe has no beginning and no end (it has an unlimited vastness),

Still, there is none is this Universe who would befriend a traitor.]

Neither the traitors of the past could find anyone to give them shelter nor would the prospective traitors find sympathisers expected to provide them any protection. Traitors have no masters or lords. None owns them.

17. Ibid., p. 147/735.

While studying Iqbal's poetry we find verses, lines or part of lines taken from al-Mutanabbī, 'Amr ibn Kulthūm, Buṣīrī, Ka'b ibn Zuhair, Zuhair ibn Abī Salmah, Imrā' al-Qais, al-Ma'arrī and others. For example, here is a verse of 'Amr ibn Kulthūm in *Armughān-i Ḥijāz*:

صبنت الکاس عنا ام عمرو و کان الکاس مجراہا الیمینا
اگر این است رسمِ دوستداری بدیوارِ حرم زن جام و مینا[18]

[O mother of 'Amr, you have given a wrong start to the cup of wine. As a rule the cup is to begin its circulation from the right. (You turned it left because we were on your right side.)

If that is the manner of your friendship, then dash the cup and the goblet against the wall of the Sanctuary (Ka'bah).]

Besides, we find that several verses of Iqbal are clearly impressed by some Arabic verse, without a verse or a line of it being incorporated in original. In this regard, if we peruse the works of al-Mutanabbī, Imrā' al-Qais, Abū Tammām, and others, we may find many verses which have affected Iqbal's verses in respect of idea or imagery. Sometimes the impact is not direct. At times it is a sort of reflection. It is obvious that mind retains, not only the influences of physical spectacles seen with one's bodily eyes, but also the impacts of the phenomena visited upon by the eyes of one's intellect and imagination. This aspect of literature has been discussed in the beginning of this chapter. Some influences are direct, clear and exact. Some are vague. There are others that are mingled with other impressions of a similar kind. This commingling naturally dims the manifestations imprinted on the pages of memory. Yet the original

18. *Armughān-i-Ḥijāz*, p. 7/889.

impact is not wiped out or dimmed altogether. Therefore, it can show itself up, though partially and vaguely, whenever a chance occurs. For example, we have Iqbal's verse:

گمان آباد ہستی میں یقیں مرد مسلماں کا
بیاباں کی شب تاریک میں قندیل رہبانی ![19]

[In this world of phantasies the conviction of a Muslim (Believer) is like the candle of a Rabbī in the dark night of a desert.]

In the *Jāhilī* era there were some such persons called Rabbīs (doctors in Christian theology) who, having renounced worldly involvements, built cottages in places away from human habitats. A twinkling candle in such a cottage, in the pitch darkness prevailing all around, presented a fascinating phenomenon for the wayfarers of the desert, specially when they had gone astray and had not been able to find any trace of their path. The above verse of Iqbal contains a vivid influence of the following verse by Imrā' al-Qais:

تضیئ الظلام بالعشی کانها ! منارہ ممسی راہب متبتل

[She transforms darkness into light, when night sets in, as if she were the lamp (candle) of a God-devoted Rabbī lighted in the evening dark.]

The same theme is reverberated in the following *Qiṭa'* (short poem) of Iqbal:

شب این کوہ و دشت سینہ تابے نہ در وے مرغکے نے موج آبے
نگردد روشن از قندیل رہباں تو میدانی کہ باید آفتابے[20]

[The night of this mountain and desert-tract has a restless bosom. In that tract there is visible neither a bird nor a track of water.

19. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 270. 20. *Armughān-i-Ḥijāz*, p. 84/966.

This night cannot be lighted by the candle of Rabbīs. You know a sun is needed for the purpose.]

In his book *Pas Chih Bāyad Kard*, Iqbal inspires the Arabs to get rid of the European overlords in the following words:

از فریبِ او اگر خواہی اماں   اشترانش را ز حوضِ خود براں[21]

[If you seek safety from his (European imperialists') treachery, then drive his camels away from your pool of water.]

The impact of the Arab pool of water and the camel is there. The theme clearly despicts the meanings of a verse by Zuhair ibn Abī Salmah, included in his famous *Mu'allaqah* (Suspended Poem):

و من لم یذد عن حوضہ بسلاحۃ   یہدم و من لم یظلم الناس یظلم !

[Whosoever does not defend his pool with his weapons, his pool is destroyed. And he who does not repress others is repressed.]

A verse in *Rumūz-i Bekhudī* tells eloquently of the influences of Imām Buṣīrī's subject stated in his verse. Here is Iqbal's verse:

رونق از ما محفلِ ایام را   او رسل را ختم و ما اقوام را[22]

[For the Assembly of *Time* we are the glamour and grace. The Holy Prophet was the Last of the Prophets and we (Muslims) are the Last of the Nations.]

And Buṣīrī had said:

لما دعا الله داعینا لطاعتہ   اکرم الرسل کنا اکرام الامم

[When Allah characterised our Mentor (Holy Prophet) for submissiveness to him as the most superior to the Prophets, we came to be the most superior to the nations.]

Iqbal, while addressing the Cordova Mosque,

21. *Pas Chih Bāyad Kard*, p. 41/837.
22. *Rumūz-i Bekhudi*, p. 102.

said:

تیرا جلال و جمال ، مردِ خدا کی دلیل
وہ بھی جلیل و جمیل ، تو بھی جلیل و جمیل[23]

[Your glory and elegance is clear proof of the glory and elegance of the Man of God. You are glorious and elegant. He, too, is glorious and elegant.]

This verse brings to our mind a verse by 'Abd al-Rahmān, the founder of the Cordova Mosque:

ان البناء اذا تعاظم قدره !!! اضحیٰ یدل علی عظیم الشان

[When a construction becomes meritoriously magnificent it points out that the man (who built it) was worthily great.]

Abū Firās Hamdānī had his own way when he dealt with the same subject:

صنائع فاق صانعها ففاقت و غرس طاب غار سها فطابا

[Works of art are superior where the artist is superior. A sapling is pleasant if he who plants it is himself pleasant.]

Iqbal wrote a pathetic elegy on his mother's death. The last verse of that touching poem is:

آسماں تیری لحد پر شبنم افشانی کرے!
سبزۂ نورستہ اس گھر کی نگہبانی کرے![24]

[May the sky shower dew-drops on your grave. May the fresh-grown grass look after this abode.]

Maybe, in other countries also "showering of dewdrops" on the graves of dear ones is desired and prayed for. But as is obvious, the Arabian desert regions are ever thirsty. Their thirst is never quenched. The Arabs pray to God to keep the graves of their dear ones and benefactors wet. This sort of prayer denotes the height of sincerity on the part of one who

23. *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 96/388. 24. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 236.

prayed. Abū Tammām, in his elegy on the death of Muḥammad ibn Ḥumaid al-Ṭā'ī, the Governor of Mawṣil, had the same theme his mind when he said:

و کیف احتمالی الغیوث صنیعة لاسقائها قبراً و فی لحده بحر!

[How could I bear the burden of thankfulness to the clouds for their being good enough to pour water on a grave in the bosom of which lies an ocean?]

Now we come across another theme. Here again we have a verse by Abū Tammām:

الا ان نفس الشعر ماتت و ان یکن عداہا حمام الموت فہی تنازع

[Don't you see the soul of poetry is dead? And, if at all death has spared it, it remains in the throes of death undoubtedly.]

In the following verse Iqbal bevails the death of philosophy in the same manner. He says:

یا مردہ ہے یا نزع کے عالم میں گرفتار
جو فلسفہ لکھا نہ گیا خونِ جگر سے![25]

[A philosophy, not written is one's life-blood, is either dead or remains in the throes of death.]

If more effort be spent on this purpose, more traces can be found pertaining to the fact that Iqbal's mind had been influenced greatly by the Arabian atmosphere—both physical and intellectual. Besides this, in Iqbal's verses we find words conveying the meanings quite different from what they commonly convey in Urdu. For example, we see *dalīl* which in Urdu means argument and reason, whereas Iqbal, on occasions, makes it stand for a guide, in its Arabic sense.

Similarly, there is a word *adīb* which in Urdu stands

25. *Ḍarb-i Kalīm*, p. 42/504.

for a writer, a *litterateur*, etc. But in Arabic it denotes a tutor and governor of a child. Iqbal, too, has used it in this very sense. Again, in Urdu *ṭalab* generally means the state of desiring or demanding while, in Arabic, it stands for the act of searching after a thing, etc. Iqbal has used it more than once to convey by it the latter meaning also. In Urdu the word *gharīb* means a poor fellow. But in Arabic it bears several connotations. If at a place it means an alien or a stranger, at the other it denotes an extraordinary matter or thing. Iqbal, too, sometimes uses it to express the Arabic sense in Urdu. Here is an Urdu verse taken from Iqbal's short poem captioned "The River Wave" (*Mauj-i Daryā*). It reads:

زحمتِ تنگیٔ دریا سے گریزاں ہوں میں
وسعتِ بحر کی فرقت میں پریشاں ہوں میں[26]

[I want to get rid of the suffocating narrowness of the river. In the state of separation from the vastness of the ocean I feel distressed.]

In Arabic, the word *zaḥmat* unfolds the sense of suffocation caused hy *izdiḥām* (a crowd passing together). In my view, *zaḥmat* is the appropriate word to convey or transport the feeling of "suffocation" to the readers and listeners on account of the narrowness of the river as compared to the vastness of the ocean. The wave, the river and the ocean have been used here symbolically. But that is a thing fundamentally different from the one being dealt with here.

Anyway the matter returns to what it started with, i.e. the words of Aziz Ahmad. He maintained that after studying thoroughly what Iqbal has written, one

26. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 63.

is still obliged to read a lot around Iqbal to understand him fully. No researcher can comprehend Iqbal as a whole. Scores of books covering different aspects of Iqbal's art and thought have been written in many languages of the world. But no end to this effect is discernible. Iqbal rightly says:

گماں مبر کہ بپایاں رسید کارِ مغاں
ہزار بادۂ ناخوردہ در رگِ تاک است[27]

[Do not think that the work of the tavern-keeper has come to an end. A lot of undrunk wine is still running in the veins of vine.]

27. *Payām-i Mashriq*, p. 94/264.

2

PROPHET IBRAHIM AS A SYMBOL IN IQBAL'S POETRY

A poet soars in the high reason of his fancies. A poet, genuinely inspired, is endowed with an *eye* different from that of a common person. Forms do not appear to him as they are or as they appear to one who is not a poet. Sometimes a poet's glance drifts from the form to its meanings so swiftly that he discerns the meanings directly, treating the form as something superfluous. In a single flight his vision perceives many shades of meanings. We may say he looks into the meanings of the meanings as well. *A poet's eye finds things and their significance artistically interlinked and intricately associated with one another.* Hence he can perceive at a single glance, within a certain phenomenon, chains of phenomena knit into a big net spreading and running like a phantasmagoria. It seems as if the eye of a genuine poet is not distinct from his imagination. His eye and imagination go together. His glance is imaginative. *His imagination is an onlooker. His sight is insight.* This is one of the basic differences between a poet and a non-poet.

For instance, to a non-poet the spectacle of a flower and a thorn does not extend beyond a flower and a thorn. Contrary to this, a poet's eye discerns in the mirror of flower and thorn all sorts of pleasures and pains, spring and autumn, youth and age, hope and despair, light and darkness, victory and defeat,

smile and sigh, and so on. In short, *a minor spectacle sets the steed of a poet's imagination on such a swift course that it traverses the vast realm of meanings.* Likewise, to a non-poet, a dew-drop is simply a dew-drop or just a drop of water. But a poet's eye, on the other hand, discovers in it rivers and seas, waves and storms, whirlpools and crocodiles, boatmen and shores. Not only that. It visualises the crests and strings of pearls, stars, peals of laughter, strings of love's teeth, tears of pleasure and pain, glistening goblets, the suns and moons, etc. It also sees, in this scene, an inherent faculty to decline and to vanish.

This clearly shows that to the eye of a true poet different forms of things are not separate entities. They are rather unified in a series of "*forms and meanings, atoms and voids, beginnings and ends*". From this it is also inferred that even an iota of a thing, for a poet, is of great moment in the scheme of creation. According to Mirza Ghālib :

قطرے میں بحر دکھائی نہ دے اور جزو میں کل
کھیل بچوں کا ہوا دیدۂ بینا نہ ہوا

[If a discerning eye cannot visualise the sea in a drop of water or the whole in a part,

Then it is not an eye, it is a plaything.]

But a true poet's business does not end with the depiction of the minutiae of a scene, sharpness of his perception and intensity of emotions. Of much more importance is the manner in which he conveys his vision, perception and emotions to his readers. On every excursion into the realm of meanings he has got to take others along with him. He makes others see what he sees, he makes others laugh and weep, as he

himself does. He has got to stir their hearts and minds. He has to transport his hesitations and convictions to their hearts. This quality is called *communication*, in literary terms. If a poet is lacking in this quality or his communication is faulty, he may be the nucleus of all perceptions and intuitions, but he cannot be a poet. A poet is an effective interpretive tongue of the essence of the universe. The measure of a poet's personality is the magnitude of this effectiveness—whether he impresses only a few persons on a particular intellectual level and a particular viewpoint, or he is capable of taking into confidence persons of every type, every clime and every era. When he becomes a friend of every society, clime and era, he no longer remains spatial or temporal. He becomes universal. He becomes boundless.

Here we shall try to know how Iqbal views the development of Prophet Ibrāhīm's (peace be on him) insight and how he gleans and sifts a rich harvest of meanings out of it which soothe the hearts of readers. They encourage and open new vistas of insight and faith. Here Ibrāhīm (peace be on him) is depicted as a man in search of *Truth*. And then by and by he becomes a *metaphor* and a *symbol* serving so many purposes in respect of *communication*.

We know that Ibrāhīm's father was the idol-maker, Āzar, whose idols his nation worshipped. When Prophet Ibrāhīm attained the age of discretion he became an idoloclast. And when the nation found its gods broken and mutilated, it resolved to punish him. The king sentenced him to be burnt alive. But the fire turned into a rose-garden by God's grace and Prophet Ibrāhīm remained unhurt.

The Qur'ān relates that Ibrāhīm found himself sacrificing in dream his son Ismā'īl. He narrated the dream to his son. The son asked him to translate his dream into reality; he would remain steadfast in offering his life. In his old age Ibrāhīm put the knife to his son's throat. But God had wanted only to try Ibrāhīm's truthfulness and sincerity. In Ismā'īl's stead something else was destined to come under the blade of Ibrāhīm's knife. The Qur'ān also states that Ibrāhīm left one of his wives and his son Ismā'īl alone in an arid place of land where came to be built the sanctuary of Ka'bah—the first House of Allah in a universe littered with idol-houses. Says Iqbal:

دنیا کے بت کدوں میں پہلا وہ گھر خدا کا
ہم اس کے پاسباں ہیں وہ پاسباں ہمارا ![1]

[The First House of Allah among idol-houses of the world guards us and we guard it.]

As for Ibrāhīm's vision, it is the story of the development of his insight. It is precisely narrated in the Qur'ān thus:

فلما جنّ علیہ الیل را کوکباج قال هذا ربیج فلما افل قال لا احب
الآفلین o فلما را القمر بازغا قال هذا ربیج فلما افل قال لئن لم یهدنی
ربی لاکونن من القوم الضالین o فلما را الشمس بازغة قال هذا ربی هذآ
اکبرج فلمآ افلت قال یقوم انی بریء مما تشرکون o انی وجهت وجهی
للذی فطرالسمٰوٰت و الارض حنیفا و مآ انا من المشرکین o[2]

[And when the night grew dark upon him (Ibrāhīm) he beheld a star. He said: "This is my Lord," but when it set he said: "I love not things that set." And when he saw moon uprising, he exclaimed: "This is my Lord." But when it set, he said: "Unless my God guide me, I surely shall become one of the folk

1. *Bāng-i-Darā*, p. 159. 2. vi. 76-79.

who are astray." And when he saw the sun uprising, he cried: "This is my Lord. This is greater (than all others that had set)." And when it set he exclaimed: "O my people, lo! I am free from all that ye associate (with Him). Lo! I have turned my face towards Him Who created the heavens and the earth, as one by nature upright, and I am not of idolaters."]

The Qur'ān does not give us a clue to Ibrāhīm's age when this incident took place. Notwithstanding, he had arrived at the age when he could take lessons from sunrise and sunset. In other words, we can say that his insight at the time was becoming keen. Anyway, the question arises whether Ibrāhīm had seen the darkness falling for the first time in his life. Similarly, one would like to know whether Ibrāhīm had seen the star, the moon and the sun for the first time. Certainly, he had not grown up in a cellar to come out after a long time and to see the stars, the moon and the sun and be wonderstruck when they rose and be disillusioned when they set.

He had seen all these phenomena every day since his birth. When he attained the age of discretion he began a patient and profound study of the phenomena and he reached God through the medium of his observation. It was the observation of *insight*, not *sight*. Thus we can treat all the observed objects as *symbols* and infer that Ibrāhīm understood the reality of things step by step. But everything seemed to him to be on the decline. He saw things emerge and submerge, appear and disappear. Hence they trace themselves to the fundamental principle that the *Creator* is unlike the created things. Nothing can aspire in the least to equal him. God is the One Who does not set. That which sets is ephemeral and unstable, hence is

insignificant *vis-a-vis* the Creator. Therefore everything ephemeral can be sacrificed at the Creator's behest Who is never to set. Now what we get is that, on the one hand, it is God the Creator and, on the other, everything created. Ibrāhīm's story of life instructs us to observe the world of God with a keen insight and thus attain the understanding of God. It is the process showing the development of wisdom. And then the inevitable corollary is the preparedness to sacrifice all for God when called upon to do so. Everything being God's creation belongs to Him and hence should be given away to God unhesitatingly, even if it be one's own life or the life of the most precious and the dearest of kins. Iqbal says :

بتاؤں تجھ کو مسلماں کی زندگی کیا ہے
یہ ہے نہایتِ اندیشہ و کمالِ جنوں[3]

[Should I tell you what is a Muslim's life ?
It is the consummation of insight and the perfection of madness.]

Muslims are the *Ibrāhīmī Ummah* ; hence they should possess both the traits. They should observe with keen insight. They should make sacrifice without pondering even for a moment. That is the hall-mark of true Muslims. Iqbal hails this insight which is full of love for God to the extent of madness but at the same time bewails that the baser self does not allow human beings to attain that insight easily. *Men of "Faith" do dwindle in "Faith" unperceivably*. This is how Iqbal puts this matter and points out the "*why*" of it :

براہیمی نظر پیدا مگر مشکل سے ہوتی ہے
ہوس چھپ چھپ کے سینوں میں بنا لیتی ہے تصویریں![4]

3. *Ḍarb-i Kalim*, p. 48/510.

4. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 271.

[But Ibrāhīmian insight is not easily attainable. It is attained with much difficulty.
The difficulty is caused by the avarice which secretively paints its own images on the hearts (and thus blurs the vision).]

The meaning of the verse given above cannot be understood without the background laid down in the foregoing pages. We should also keep in mind that the countrymen of Ibrāhīm, the Babylonians and the Chaldaeans, worshipped celestial bodies. According to their belief, celestial bodies determind their destinies. For them some stars were auspicious and some inauspicious. Therefore they used to conceive that a person born under the influence of such and such star would definitely grow into a man of this or that type of character and luck. In other words, they were convinced that *their destinies were bound to the whims of the stars*. But a man possessing Ibrāhīmian insight will keep the stars and their influence under the influence of his faith in God and the grim determination nurtured by that faith. A man of conviction lives and dies according to the dictates of his conviction. His actions and fate are his own achievement, be it good or bad. In this regard Iqbal says:

ستارہ کیا مری تقدیر کی خبر دے گا
وہ خود فراخیٔ افلاک میں ہے خوار و زبوں[5]

[How can a star presage my destiny?
A star is itself miserable and helpless in the vasts of heavens.]

Hence the inconstancy of the planets in the perspective of Ibrāhīm's observation would become all the more meaningful.

5. *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 27/319.

The Prophet Ibrāhīm (peace be on him) had broken all the idols made by his father. Thus Iqbal uses Ibrāhīm as a *symbol* of a *God-oriented* force which breaks all sorts of idols. In the following verse the metaphor of "love's Ibrāhīm" is an indication of this fact:

توڑ دیتا ہے بُتِ ہستی کو ابراہیمِ عشق
ہوش کا دارو ہے گویا مستیٔ تسنیمِ عشق[6]

[The Ibrāhīm of love destroys the idol of existence.
The cure of senses lies as if in the intoxication of love's Divine wine.]

It is important to know that this verse occurs in the second part of *Bāng-i Darā* and is the first verse that alludes to Ibrāhīm. There is no such allusion in the first part of *Bāng-i Darā* which consists of Iqbal's poetry from 1901 to 1905 notwithstanding the fact that Mount Sinai, Moses, Jesus and Ḥallāj are mentioned in this part. It shows that during this period Iqbal himself was busy in sight-seeing—the sights of the stars, moons and suns. Sight, probably, had overwhelmed his eye. His sight had not still evolved itself into insight. The poem in which this verse occurs is entitled: "Swāmī Rām Tīrath". The Swāmī was a Hindu scholar who had a dervish-like temperament. He was in search of the *Truth* behind *all truths*. He was not satisfied with scholarship and thought of ridding his soul of the physical shackles so that it could commune with the Supreme Spirit. In this state of exhilaration he went to the river Ganges in 1906 for bathing and went far, rather too far, in the waters

6. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 114.

and stole his way to the heaven.[7]

Once the *symbol of Ibrāhīm* was specified to connote *idol-breaking* withdrawing from all that is unstable and turning only to the *Eternal*, Iqbal made an effective use of it in his poetry as is evident from the verses that follow:

صنم کدہ ہے جہاں اور مردِ حق ہے خلیل
یہ نکتہ وہ ہے کہ پوشیدہ لا الٰہ میں ہے![8]

[The world is like an idol-house and the man of God is like Ibrāhīm.

This is a delicate point which is hidden in the belief that there is no god but God.]

باش مانندِ خلیل اللہ مست   ہر کہن بت خانہ را باید شکست[9]

[Be God-intoxicated like Ibrāhīm.
Every ancient idol-house should be demolished.]

In the Qur'ān, we find:

افرءیت من اتخذ الٰھہ ھواہ و اضلہ اللہ[10]

[Have you seen him who makes his desire his god, and Allah sends him astray purposely?]

Viewed in this perspective everything whose love makes human beings forget Allah is a mini-god. It is an idol, false, inconstant and ephemeral. God is *One*. Besides Him all objects that exist in the universe are termed as *plurality* (*kathrat*). In this respect one's own body, descendants, wealth, rank, integrity, sense of honour, love of power and other ambitions, all are *plurality*. Hence this world is an idol-house wherein every idol makes human beings unmindful of God. Whosoever believes that God is One is righteous and

7. N.B. Sen, *Punjab's Eminent Hindus*, pp. 272-73.
8. *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 68/360. 9. *Pas Chih Bāyad Kard*, p. 7/803.
10. xlv. 23.

truthful. Such a person does not attach any importance to plurality (the many that are besides Him) *vis-a-vis* the love of God and His injunctions and prohibitions. Therefore the actions of such a person are like that of Ibrāhīm who turned his face away from the many, i.e. all other than God, to God, the Creator, the Nourisher of all lives. Human beings reach their goal only when they vehemently believe in "*No god, but Allah*".

یہ مال و دولتِ دنیا ، یہ رشتہ و پیوند
بتانِ وہم و گماں لا الٰہ الا اللہ

. . . .

یہ نغمہ فصلِ گل و لالہ کا نہیں پابند
بہار ہو کہ خزاں ، لا الٰہ الا اللہ
اگرچہ بت ہیں جماعت کی آستینوں میں
مجھے ہے حکمِ اذاں لا الٰہ الا اللہ[11]

[All these worldly riches and treasures, relations and connections
Are nothing but the idols created by our fantasy. (Therefore declare) "There is no god but God". . . .
This melody is not bound to the season of roses and tulips.
Spring or autumn make no difference. (Therefore declare) "There is no god but God".
Although the congregation have idols in their sleeves
Yet I have been commanded to declare "There is no god but God."]

The false opposes the truth contained in "*No god but God*". The false is unstable and rootless.

As everything besides God sets, so with Iqbal the terms *transitory*, *false*, *waning* and *mortal* have become synonymous. Iqbal has so much extended the

11. *Ḍarb-i Kalim*, pp. 15-16/477-78.

meanings of "*I love not things that set*" (لا احب الآفلین). Everything other than God is false in this scale.

While giving an account of Ibrāhīm b. Fātiq, Maulānā Jāmī has quoted Ḥadrat 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī like this :

> To mystics the unity of God is the negation of the Created and affirmation of the Eternal.[12]

Iqbal embodies the same in the following verse :

علم ِ مسلم کامل از سوز ِ دل است معنیٔ اسلام ترک ِ آفل است[13]

[Knowledge of the Muslim becomes perfect with the warmth of his heart.
Meaning of Islam (surrender to God) lies in forsaking all that is ephemeral.]

This awareness is possible only when a person's heart is aflame with the celestial fire of love. And, then, Iqbal refers again to Ibrāhīm to support the view expressed in the verse just quoted above :

چون ز بند ِ آفل ابراہیم رست درمیان ِ شعلہ ہا نیکو نشست[14]

[When Ibrāhīm attained freedom from the shackles of the ephemeral,
He sat in the midst of flames comfortably.]

Ibrāhīm had renounced *all that sets*, is ephemeral, mortal and shortlived and stuck wholeheartedly to the love of God, hence he seated himself amidst the furious fire unscathed. The fear of fire was of no moment when brought face to face with the behest of God. Even to his own being the ephemeris *that which sets* applied. *God abides, the rest die.* Ibrāhīm extricated his material being from the world of his spirit.

12. *Nafhāt al-Uns* (Urdu terms), p. 174.
13. *Asrār-i Khudi*, p. 67.
14. Ibid., p. 68.

The matter catches fire, not the spirit. Ibrāhīm had become all soul. Fire could do him no harm. Iqbal says:

بے خطر کود پڑا آتشِ نمرود میں عشق
عقل ہے محوِ تماشائے لبِ بام ابھی[15]

[Love threw itself fearlessly into the flames of Nimrod.
Reason is absorbed in the spectacle from the roof's corner.]

This verse implies that in the event of the submission to Divine behest our intellectual analysis cannot lead us to the right path. Love's decrees are totally opposed to those of intellect. No compromise can find a way therein. Intellect, despite its sincerity, is expedient, nay, expediency alone is considered to be a *hall-mark* of a ripe intellect.

The principle of "*That which sets is mortality*" applies to one's offspring as much as to everything other than God. It is evident that even the nearest kin, maybe a son, cannot escape the application of this principle. Life is very dear to everyone but, to an *ageing* father, his innocent and simple-hearted son is much dearer than his own life. In preserving their sons and daughters, parents do not hesitate to risk their own lives. But there are degrees to the intensity of love. The priorities, too, are according to that intensity. A devout lover can sacrifice happily the dearest of his possessions on the altar of God's Will. Despite this he thinks that what he did was nothing as compared to what he ought to have done. A lover of God knows that He stands in need of no sacrifice or service on his part. God sees only the sincerity of

15. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 271.

the heart and it is the sincerity of the heart alone that reaches Him. *Trial is the touchstone of sincerity or insincerity.*

It means that if man's affairs stand moulded to his heart's desire and they run on well, then, for him God exists and hence claims his obedience. But if at a moment of trial when he is called upon to sacrifice love of something for God's love, he takes to his heels, evidently he is neither of this world nor of the Hereafter. This is how God ordains :

يثبت الله الذين آمنوا بالقول الثابت فى الحيٰوة الدنيا و فى الآخرة[16]

[God gives stability in this world and the Hereafter to those who say what is stable.]

However, it does not imply that men should stick to their false contentions and think them to be the last word. The last word is the one which is based on principle and truth. And *Lā ilāhā ill-Allāh* (*No god but Allāh*) is the great principle, nay, the *fundamental principle.* A person who sticks to this fundamental principle should be ready to face the hardest trial and the severest tribulation. When Ibrāhīm said that *he had set his face towards Him and had turned away from everything else*, he was virtually expounding a vital truth. Godly men ought to turn their faces towards Him. Hence Ibrāhīm went into a blazing fire and put knife to his son's throat, when he was called upon to do so although in a dream. Iqbal says that whosoever becomes a believer in One God faithfully and truthfully gets himself freed from all shackles of relations and connections howsoever near and dear.

16. xiv. 27.

Such a person undergoes the trial successfully, if needed :

ہر کہ در اقلیمِ لا آباد شد　　فارغ از بندِ زن و اولاد شد
می کند از ماسوا قطعِ نظر　　می نہد ساطور بر حلقِ پسر[17]

[He who settles down in the domain of belief in One God,
Becomes free of the bonds of wife and children.
He turns away from all other than God,
And he puts knife to the throat of his son.]

This was the state of Ibrāhīm's obedience, and this is precisely Iqbal's elucidation of "*that which sets*" and his interpretation of Ibrāhīm as a *symbol* in his poetry. Owing to Ibrāhīm's submission and consummation of love and perseverance, he was honoured with the title of *Khalīl Allāh* (*the Friend of God*), the One Who is independent of everything that exists in the universe. God called him His *true friend* and declared His friendship for him. Not only this, God has termed Islam as the *Religion of Ibrāhīm*, and declared Ibrāhīm to be the chieftain of mankind.

It is evident that the institution of sacrifice in Ibrāhīm's *Millat* (religion) is meant to refresh the memory of Ibrāhīm's peerless sincerity. Viewed in this perspective the sacrifice is a manifestation of love and it should be understood as the *remembrance* of the friend. It should not be weighed and measured in terms of material loss. It is all spiritual gain. This is a *symbolic revival* of this affirmation of the *Obedient Community* : that God's love and His behest are the highest and that in the event of a conflict between His love and behest and the love and behest of all besides Him, it would be the former that would be

17. *Asrār-i Khudī*, p. 42.

preferred. The love of religion may come in conflict with the love of home, friends, kith and kin, wealth and even children. But preference would be given to religion.

Everything else would be sacrificed on the altar of religion. We have to be sure in our hearts that if we have a modicum of Ibrāhīm's sincerity it would transform every fire of trial into a rose-garden and we shall feel no trouble at all. All trouble will turn into pleasure. In the words of Iqbal :

آج بھی ہو جو براہیم کا ایماں پیدا
آگ کر سکتی ہے اندازِ گلستاں پیدا[18]

[Even if today the Faith of Ibrāhīm be evident,
The fire can assume the shape of a rose-garden.]

To view everything besides Him as *Āfil* "*that which sets*" and the love of everything besides Him, which comes in conflict with His love, is an idol that must be destroyed. It is a motif that recurs in Iqbal's poetry multifariously. For example, to Iqbal, almost all concepts of the contemporary era are based on materialistic outlook. Iqbal is vehemently opposed to all materialistic constructions put on logical positivism, dialectical materialism, racial and territorial nationalism, capitalism and ruthless profiteering, etc. To Iqbal, man is not merely a material being. He is also endowed with the wealth of intuitive faculties. He has spiritual potentialities as well. And, like material possibilities, the spiritual potentialities are also realities in themselves.

Man grew negligent and turned his back on his

18. *Bāng-i Dara*, p. 205.

spiritual possibilities. Consequently the spirit was suppressed and the body became dominant over it. The absolute sway of the material has relegated man's humanity into animality and degenerated it to a mechanical device, instead of lifting it up. And man has invented logic to support and justify this theory. These wrong notions, which have received public approbation, must be shattered to pieces like idols. They are taught on imitative lines and over-darkened ways made for our searching need. A faithful philosopher who has Ibrāhīm's insight can distinguish truth from falsehood, call a spade a spade, and break the idols of false notions into pieces.

یہ دور اپنے براہیم کی تلاش میں ہے
صنم کدہ ہے جہاں ، لا الٰہ الا اللہ[19]

[This era is in search of its own Ibrāhīm.
The world has become an idol-house. Therefore declare "there is no god but Allah".]

It is evident that *the remedy of the dehumanising notions is the humanising notions*. It is the duty of every humanitarian to render a human being more humane. In this respect the greatest possibility would be the *knowledge* which should not be merely intellectual and rational. On the other hand, it should be firmly established in the heart. It should be a *soul-deep knowledge*. It should be capable of opening up new vistas of understanding and turning *sight* into *insight*.

It is very simple to understand that intellectual and rational knowledge plays only a small role in

19. *Ḍarb-i Kalim*, p. 15/477.

personality building. *It is conviction alone that revolutionises personality.* The stronger the conviction in a higher principle, the greater the impact on character:

یقیں مثلِ خلیل آتش نشینی ! یقیں اللہ مستی ، خود گزینی !
سن اے تہذیبِ حاضر کے گرفتار غلامی سے بتر ہے بے یقینی ![20]

[Conviction is proved by sitting in fire like Ibrāhīm.
Conviction means to get absorbed in God and thus to choose one's own self.
Listen, O captive of the contemporary civilisation,
"To be without conviction is to be in a state worse than slavery."]

Becoming a big man is quite different from becoming a good man. History has given us thousands of *great men* whose greatness lay in their material conquests. But how many amongst them have been great on account of positive human qualities? As by history it is meant, generally, the political history, the big men of history, i.e. the conquerors and rulers, are shown as great men. Great as men they seldom were.

Intellectual and theoretical knowledge sometimes proves very injurious to humanity. Man's untamed instincts make an instrument of such a knowledge and seek a fuller play through it. An ill-intentioned and dishonest person can be more harmful on the strength of his scholastic prestige. He can invent more dangerous arguments and logic, as knowledge is an objective rather than an impartial force. If a right-thinking person uses this force, it can be useful. Its use by an evil person can be harmful. But a righteous

20. *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 81/373.

person knows good from evil and rejects courageously what is evil and accepts daringly what is good, irrespective of the like and dislike of the populace. Iqbal has elucidated this fact through alluding to Ibrāhīm, the iconoclast:

وہ علم اپنے بتوں کا ہے آپ ابراہیم
کیا ہو جس کو خدا نے دل و نظر کا ندیم[21]

[Knowledge which has been made an accompaniment of heart and vision,
By God, is like Ibrāhīm for its own idol (of false notions).]

True knowledge cannot withstand false notions and base ideas. Iqbal was not opposed to modern sciences and inventions. He was against its materialistic basis and its avaricious impact. In his view modern sciences, denuded of moral spirit, have mutilated human conscience. Iqbal was fond of progress and novelty all his life, but was ill at ease on account of the harbingers of sciences who have no moral moorings. He feared human destruction. His apprehensions are coming true with the passage of time.

In his preface to his Lectures Iqbal says:

> As knowledge advances and fresh avenues of thought are opened, other views and probably sounder views than those set forth in these lectures, are possible. Our duty is carefully to watch the progress of human thought, and to maintain an independent critical attitude towards it.[22]

Iqbal was eagerly in search of new thoughts under the proviso that one remains vigilant, cautious and critically independent so that it is not possible to

21. *Ḍarb-i Kalīm*, p. 26/488.
22. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. vi.

reject or accept any notion uncritically. No new idea is right or wrong only because it is new. Similarly, no old idea is right or wrong only because it is old. *To Iqbal time is a continuous and contiguous current.* Its division into months and years is our arithmetical need, otherwise the all-pervasive Time is indivisible, having no past and no present. Hence he says:

زمانہ ایک ، حیات ایک ، کائنات بھی ایک
دلیلِ کم نظری ، قصۂ جدید و قدیم[23]

[Duration is one, life is one, universe is one.
To talk of old and new is a sign of shortsightedness.]

Truth is truth. It is neither new nor old. The system of the universe has been running on for millions of years. Everything in this universe is evolving, but no change has occurred in the essential properties of the basic elements of life. We cannot say that water which evaporates at such and such degree Fahrenheit, evaporated at a lower or higher degree one million years ago. In fact, *the principles of investigation are expounded and are based on the constancy of the properties of things*. Hence our philosophies and sciences can claim to discover new things on the strength of the constancy in the properties of matter, but they can have no claim to originality. The discovery of the properties of things is, after all, a *discovery*, and not *creation*. Due to the intermixture of the properties new forms come into being which can be called *innovation*, but not *new creation*. In order to discover ancient truths and formulate principles on them, we need a comprehensivist's vision like that of Iqbal who says:

23. *Darb-i Kalim*, p. 26/488.

حقیقت ایک ہے ہر شے کی خاکی ہو کہ نوری ہو
لہو خورشید کا ٹپکے اگر ذرے کا دل چیریں[24]

[Reality of all things is one be it of clay or light.
Cut the heart of an atom and you find the blood of the sun trickle down.]

Iqbal was sad because the learning which had evolved scholastically through centuries had come down to those who were bereft of vital souls and were overpowered by atomic, rather atomistic, attitude. They took man also for a fumble of particles. Hence their insight could not soar up. Their intellectual flights touched the heights, but their natures remained earth-rooted. To them man's nobility could not develop into a value. *To them man too was nothing more than a colony of cells.* They viewed the individual and the society just as such. In such a world where soul is merely a name of the symmetry and harmony of a few basic properties, the concept of God or the All-Pervasive Soul finds no place. Sovereignty of God or His vicegerency has no meaning in such a scheme of the universe. The light of guidance and revelation is out of place. Similarly, "*All human beings are Allah's family*" (الخلق عیال الله) can have no import in it. The upshot of the matter is that new sciences, despite their discoveries, and the inventions based on them, have failed to discover and recognise human dignity as a value in itself. Hence man has been reduced to a mere moving mass of matter, which is confined to the fulfilment of his animal desire as Iqbal has said :

یورپ از شمشیرِ خود بسمل فتاد   زیرِ گردوں رسمِ لا دینی نہاد

24. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 271.

. . . .

در نگاہش آدمی آب و گل است کاروانِ زندگی بے منزل است[25]

[West has fallen prostrate because of the injuries it received from its own sword.

It had laid down principles of irreligion for the world. . . .
According to Europe, life is but water and clay
And the caravan has no goal set before it.]

If Iqbal was disgusted with the modes of modern sciences, this precisely was the cause. He saw clearly that the Western materialistic and luxurious society was not conducive to the emergence of the scholars who had a comprehensive, all-embracing world-view in expounding different systems and principles. The ultimate outcome seems to be that human society would fall a victim to the ruthlessness of modern scientific devices.

Canon Peter Green states his misgivings about technological progress without moral advancement commensurate with it in the following words:

Science daily puts into our hands greater and greater powers. But unless there is an advance in moral character to correspond to the advance in knowledge the results must be bad. It is like putting a stick of dynamite into the hands of a stupid, reckless and ill-natured boy of ten. Unless we have better men and women, civilisation is heading for a crash.[26]

Iqbal also was vexed about the state of knowledge *vis-a-vis* morals. His eyes were fixed on facts. Hence he was afraid of the consequences. His anguish can be seen mirrored in this verse:

25. *Pas Chih Bāyad Kard*, p. 43/839.

26. *The Problem of Right Conduct*, Intro., p. ix.

وہ فکرِ گستاخ جس نے عریاں کیا ہے فطرت کی طاقتوں کو
اسی کی بے تاب بجلیوں سے خطر میں ہے اس کا آشیانہ ![27]

[The arrogant imagination which has laid bare the forces of Nature,
Is now finding its own nest in danger on account of its own restive lightnings.]

The way out which Iqbal suggested was to *reshape man's behaviour according to the revealed guidance of the Creator.* This would, in his opinion, elevate man as man, rid him of the distress resulting from the hovering dark shadows of justified doubts and fears. But this is not possible without full faith in God and sense of individual accountability to Him for what he does. The irony is that those who think in this way are censured and reviled. This agony Iqbal has beautifully expressed through Ibrāhīmian metaphor:

عذابِ دانشِ حاضر سے باخبر ہوں میں
کہ میں اس آگ میں ڈالا گیا ہوں مثلِ خلیل ![28]

[I am quite aware of the affliction caused by the contemporary learning,
Because it is I who have been thrown, like Ibrāhīm, into its fire.]

The Qur'ān tells that when Ibrāhīm related the account of his dream to his son Ismā'īl and wished to know his opinion, Ismā'īl requested him to realise the dream. He assured his father of his steadfastness saying that he would obediently bow his neck before the knife. Iqbal derives from this incident the conclusion that an exemplary model of a great person can educate man better than books and schools. Books supply mere pieces of information while those who assimilate such information in their hearts be-

27. *Bāl-i Jabrīl*, p. 130/422. 28. Ibid., p. 63/355.

come capable of translating character-reforming pieces of learning into action.

Such persons set graceful examples for others to emulate. But the Prophets are not educated by human beings, nor are they in need of their guidance. They are educated and guided by God only. And He, surely, is the best of all the guides. It is imperative to note that those who preach and advise their loved ones should always be assessing and reassessing their own mode of behaviour and way of life. It includes a father, a teacher, an officer, a politician, a preacher, and all those who aim at improving the lot of mankind. A wayward father, an unscrupulous teacher, a dishonest political leader, an untrue orator, a coward guide, and an idle, good-for-nothing officer cannot inspire others. The words of advice and persuasion uttered by all such persons, *who have only words to offer and not actions*, usually fall flat on the listeners. Ibrāhīm (peace be on him) had unhesitatingly offered his own life for the sake of *Truth* and had jumped into the furious flames of Nimrod. His son knew the mettle his father was moulded of. Then how could Ismā'īl waver in offering his life at even the indirect behest of his father. Iqbal has summed up this vast theme in a brief term "*the benevolent influence of the glance*" :

وہ فیضانِ نظر تھا یا کہ مکتب کی کرامت تھی
سکھائے کس نے اسماعیل کو آدابِ فرزندی ؟[29]

[Was it the grace of the glance (of Ibrāhīm) or a miracle performed by the school ?

Who after all had taught Ismā'īl the manners of an obedient son ?]

29. Ibid., p. 14/306.

3

IQBAL—MAN OF FAITH AND VISION

The Qur'ān directs the attention of its readers to the following phenomenon :

و من الناس من يعبد الله علىٰ حرف ج فان اصابه خير ن اطمان به ج
و ان اصابته فتنة ن انقلب علىٰ وجهه ج خسر الدنيا و الآخرة ط ذالك
هو الخسران المبين ۝ [1]

[There are among men some who serve Allah, as it were, on the verge : if good befalls them, they are, therewith, well content ; but if a trial comes to them, they turn their faces ; they lose both this world and the Hereafter : that is loss for all to see !]

People do have affection for their ideologies. They love their religion. But the fact remains that all are not firm. There are many who, though not hypocrites, are not men of courage. They lack steadfastness. Face to face with a trying situation, they give way and thus lose face before their society as well as Allah. Feeble-minded people are believers as long as all goes well. They are believers in Allah as long as they are not called upon to make genuine sacrifice in His cause. They are easygoing persons. Their ideologies are oral. They recite the name of Allah only mechanically. They exhibit devotion. But they never defend the object of their devotion if the defence entails some risk. Comfort is not to be

1. xxii. 11. English translation by A. Yusuf Ali.

imperilled. Wealth is not to be parted with. Their own lives and the lives of their kith and kin look too valuable to be sacrificed for the sake of faith. Quite obvious. Their belief is not even skin-deep. Says Allamah Muhammad Iqbal:

زباں سے کہہ بھی دیا لا الٰہ تو کیا حاصل !
دل و نگاہ مسلماں نہیں تو کچھ بھی نہیں[2]

[Recitation of *No god but Allah* is of no avail;
If both vision and heart do not surrender before Allah, faith has no meaning at all.]

Loving an ideology should mean living it. If ideology goes, life should go along with it. Faith is not a detachable article. True and genuine faith is much more valuable than all valuables, be they even blood-relations. Faith is one love above all other loves. And that one love can be demonstrated in obeying the commandments and injunctions of the One Who, in all respects, is above all else in the universe.

The Qur'ān has expressly laid down the difference between embracing Islam and believing in what Islam stands for:

قالت الاعراب آمنا قل لم تؤمنوا و لٰكن قولوا اسلمنا و لما يدخل الايمان في قلوبكم[3]

[The wandering Arabs say: We believe. Say, unto them, O Muḥammad! You believe not, but rather say: We submit (accept Islam), for the faith has not yet entered into your hearts.]

This shows that, according to the Qur'ān, Islam

2. *Ḍarb-i Kalim*, p. 35/497.

3. xlix. 14.

and *Īmān* are two different degrees of faith, as is maintained by Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal:

ان الایمان غیر الاسلام[4]

[*Īmān* (belief) is something other than Islam.]

To accept Islam orally is one thing, but to have faith in Islam is quite another. It is obviovs that a certain principle which becomes faith enters into one's soul. The believer begins to live his faith. Before that it can have no reforming impact on the thinking and behaviour of the individual concerned. A belief not bringing about any change in the personality of the believer means that it has served no more than a piece of information. Iqbal elucidates this point thus:

تو عرب ہو یا عجم ہو ترا لا الٰہ الا !
لغتِ غریب ، جب تک ترا دل نہ دے گواہی[5]

[Whether you be an Arab or a non-Arab, your reciting *no god but God*
Is simply a foreign vocabulary unless your heart stands witness to what your tongue offers.]

It is the sincerity of heart that matters and not lip-service. Faith has to be heartfelt. Leaving aside the not-Arabs, even the Arabs cannot understand the connotation of *La ilāha ill-Allāh,* though the words are Arabic, their mother tongue. The significance of these words is that, after bowing before God, one has to discard all other gods from the sanctuary of one's conscience. The world of man is replete with false gods in the form of human beings as well, who, with

4. *Al-Ghunyat li Ṭalib al-Ḥaqq,* I, 83.
5. *Bāl-i Jibril,* p. 45/337.

gestures of pride, go on drumming their godly authority into the ears of those who happen to be inferior to them as subordinates, dependants, aid-seekers, or servants. These false gods, commensurate with the extent of their authority, bevave as if power has conferred on them a sort of intoxication. They suppose they are the sustainers, protectors, preservers and masters of the souls of individuals, tribes, societies and even of nations. At all these levels these false gods have to be discarded. But this is more than an uphill task. Iqbal says:

چو می گویم مسلمانم ، بلرزم که دانم مشکلات لا الٰه را[6]

[When I say I am a Muslim, i.e. a believer in God, I shiver,

For I understand the magnitude of hardships hidden in the words *no god but God*.]

But a firm belief in one God is an eternal happiness. It is not a passing shadow. It strengthens the determination of the believer. It makes him steadfast and enables him to stand against the forces of evil, manfully. It is unfaltering faith in God which integrates the personality of the person concerned. It is this strength which transforms the outlook and behaviour of the believer. It is not worshipping God and yet remaining right on the fence, ready to flee, if called upon to face some trying situation. Such an individual, even though he may claim to be a believer in God, is not so in His eyes. God addresses all those who belong to this category of "believers" thus:

یا ایها الذین آمنوا آمنوا باللہ و رسولہ[7]

6. *Armughān-i Ḥijāz*, p. 59/941. 7. iv. 136.

[O you who believe, do believe in God and His Apostle.]

God, through this verse, has ordained the pretenders to belief to become believers in all earnest. This is a call to caution all those who deceive themselves and others by their profession of faith in God. They cannot deceive God. Their infirmity is found out very easily. This verse, moreover, directs all believers to be always on the alert and in a state of stock-taking. Are they really men of faith ? Has their faith evolved into conviction ? Have they begun to live their conviction ? The fact is that it is always a long way from accepting some principle as one's faith to a point where faith becomes a distinct entity and identity hard to dismantle. Conviction is a state when an individual begins to be treated as faith personified.

It is obvious that the state of certitude is not something out there, ready-made, which can be picked up, swallowed and digested. This state is to be achieved by dint of constant effort. Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī of Baghdad, quoting Ḥaḍrat Ibn 'Abbās, Abū Hurairah and Abū Dardā', states :

الایمان یزداد و ینقص[8]

[Faith increases and decreases.]

And these ups and downs continue in the mind of the believer. Sometimes he feels satisfied with what he believes in and sometimes he finds himself confused. Then he again, as many times before, struggles hard to regain faith and get away from where dark shadows of doubt and fear hover over his head.

8. *Al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī*, p. 156.

There are innumerable things which confuse the mind of a believer and cause his return to uncertainty. But a person, who goes on striving untiringly to keep to the path of belief, may, at some stage in his life, find that the state of certainty stays in his mind, much longer than that of uncertainty. His firmness begins to get the better of his infirmities. Then, by and by, it is possible that the state of certitude may become stable to a great extent and, therefore, immune from frequent disturbances. A person who gets at stable certitude finds for himself goals different from others because the vision of such a person undergoes a definite change. Things do not seem to him exactly as they do to others.

Yet the intriguing question remains : how many are there who consciously strive to conquer doubt, suspicion and fear ? We may even ask : how many are there who bother about the need to understand what "increase and decrease" in faith signifies ? For an analysis of this kind faith is a prerequisite, because it is the strength of faith which is sought after.

Rome was not built in a day. Iqbal also became what he came to be gradually. His vision widened by and by. His faith grew in strength slowly and slowly. He rose from an ordinary plane of poetry. He was not as one would say "head and shoulders above others" as a young poet. He could end up as a middle-class poet, whose poetry could smack of philosophy. He could have become a good lawyer leading an easy life. As a beginner he was just one of them. But by dint of hard work and devotion to the cause of his religion and society he progressed visibly, though gradually. This progress he made in

the province of thought and poetic art. He made a mark in the sphere of politics also. He was active in the field of education as well. His conduct as a lawyer was just an "aside" in the activities of his life. God Almighty says in His last Book revealed to His last Prophet (peace be on him):

و الذين جاهدوا فينا لنهدينهم سبلنا[9]

[And those who strive in Our (Cause),—We will certainly guide them to Our Paths.]

As a responsible human being he had tried to know his vocation. He sought after God's Grace. And God led him to the path of his duty. He rose to what he rose, not only as a poet and a philosopher in the usual sense, for there have been poets as well as philosophers like Lucretius, Goethe, John Dewey and others. None of them changed the political course of his nation. None of them assumed the distinction of a religious revivalist. None of them rejuvenated his nation's dormant vitalities as Iqbal did. And, moreover, none of them visualised a homeland and an independent State for his enslaved nation and guided the will of his nation to that goal. Iqbal's responsibilities were manifold. He was differently placed. He was born in a country enslaved by the British. He belonged to the Muslim *Ummah* of the Pak-India subcontinent who had ruled the subcontinent magnificently and gracefully for centuries and then, like other Muslim dynasties and societies elsewhere, had fallen on bad days. His nation's decline had begun with the beginning of the eighteenth century, like the decline of the Muslim peoples all over

9. xxix. 69.

the world. But Iqbal believed in the mighty truth of Islam, hence according to him Islam could not remain subjugated for long. This penetrating vision and unfaltering conviction was the reward of his firm belief in God and his Godward endeavours which nothing could enfeeble to the last moment of his life.

Reverting to his start. He, as a conscious human being who possessed an agitated soul, tried to know his own self. He found this was not easy. Who he was and what he had to perform, was a state too elusive for his grasp. This is how he felt about it :

اقبال بھی اقبال سے آگاہ نہیں ہے
کچھ اس میں تمسخر نہیں ، واللہ نہیں ہے ![10]

[Iqbal himself does not know Iqbal.
I am not joking, by God not.]

And then there came a stage when he began to understand his stance but could not communicate clearly to others what he felt. He in this regard stated :

نالہ ہے بلبلِ شوریدہ ترا خام ابھی
اپنے سینے میں اسے اور ذرا تھام ابھی[11]

[O restless nightingale, your lementations are still not up to the mark.
Keep them to your breast for a while more.]

Iqbal was sure good days were not far off. Yet in his poetry, he felt, he could not paint such a clear picture of the shape of "things to come" as would be vividly visualised by his listeners. Trust in the truth of what he saw was gaining ground within him day by day. He had been breaking good news since March

10. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 60. 11. Ibid., p. 278.

1907, as will be elaborated in the pages to follow. In spite of it his own confidence in the certitude of his pre-vision grew gradually. It is but natural with every responsible believer. He has to accept critically whatever is revealed to his mind. Iqbal's rational eye was always wide awake. And he judged that he saw what others did not. He felt what others could not.

His confidence in the accuracy of his vision continued gaining strength. There came a time when he became perfectly certain of the correctness of what he visualised and prayed to God Almighty in the following manner:

جوانوں کو مری آہِ سحر دے
پھر ان شاہیں بچوں کو بال و پر دے
خدایا آرزو میری یہی ہے
مرا نورِ بصیرت عام کر دے[12]

[Grant the youth my plaints of the early morn.
Furnish again these eaglets with strong wings.
My only prayer to you, my Lord, is that the
Light of my vision be diffused amongst all.]

He repeated the same theme in his celebrated poem *Sāqī Nāmah*:

جوانوں کو سوزِ جگر بخش دے   مرا عشق میری نظر بخش دے[13]

[(O God) Bestow on the youth my warmth of feeling,
My unbounded love, and my vision.]

His insight was the reward of his unfaltering faith in God. Howsoever depressing the circumstances might have been, he with his penetrating and far-reaching vision remained hopeful. He was sure,

12. *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 86/378.   13. Ibid., p. 124/416.

Islam, the last of the revealed religions, had to remain operative as long as human societies should last in the universe. For Iqbal Islam was not only the epitome of all that had been revealed to all the Prophets before Muḥammad (may peace be on him); it rather contained much more than all that. And it had to be so because it had to provide guidance to all coming generations through all circumstances. With the passage of time Iqbal's faith in the profound truth contained in Islamic tenets continued illuminating his spirit to his last breath. His health dwindled. His physique, by and by, became frail. He, for years, suffered from a number of ailments. But his soul always remained stout. A believer in God can never lose hope.

He was in England studying law when he saw some phenomena with the eye of his intuition. The *ghazal* containing those divinations is the only one whose year and month of composition is expressly mentioned. It is March 1907. No other *ghazal*, before or after it, has been given such an importance. Here are some verses of the said *ghazal*:

سنا دیا گوشِ منتظر کو حجاز کی خامشی نے آخر
جو عہد صحرائیوں سے باندھا گیا تھا پھر استوار ہوگا
نکل کے صحرا سے جس نے روما کی سلطنت کو الٹ دیا تھا
سنا ہے یہ قدسیوں سے میں نے وہ شیر پھر ہوشیار ہوگا

. . .

دیارِ مغرب کے رہنے والو! خدا کی بستی دکاں نہیں ہے!
کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو، وہ اب زرِ کم عیار ہوگا!
تمھاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ ہی خودکشی کرے گی
جو شاخِ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا، ناپائیدار ہوگا

سفینہ برگِ گل بنا لے گا قافلہ مورِ ناتواں کا
ہزار موجوں کی ہو کشاکش ، مگر یہ دریا سے پار ہوگا

. . . .

میں ظلمتِ شب میں لے کے نکلوں گا اپنے درماندہ کارواں کو
شرر فشاں ہوگی آہ میری ، نفس مرا شعلہ بار ہوگا[14]

[At last the silent tongue of Ḥijāz has announced to the ardent ear the tiding

That the covenant which had been given to the desert-dwellers is going to be renewed in strong terms.

The lion who had emerged from the desert and had toppled the Roman Empire,

Is, as I am told by the angels, about to get up again (from his slumbers). . . .

You, the dwellers of the West, should know that the world of God is not a shop (of yours).

Your imagined pure gold is about to lose its standard value (as fixed by you).

Your civilisation will commit suicide with its own dagger.

A nest built on a frail bough cannot be durable.

The caravan of feeble ants will take the rose petal for a boat

And, in spite of all blasts of waves, it shall cross the river. . . .

I will take out my worn-out caravan in the pitch darkness of night.

My sighs will emit sparks and my breath will produce flames.]

Iqbal in this *ghazal*, as is obvious, prophesied that European civilisation was not going to live long. And he said so when European imperialism had already conquered almost the whole world and its power was seemingly still enhancing day by day. The other important declaration which he made was that the resurgence of Islam was about to take place. Muslims who had once established their rule over a sizeable

14. *Bāng-i Darā*, pp. 40-42.

part of Europe as well were going to regain their past glory. And this he said when the world of Islam lay subjugated by Western powers. Only Turkey was still holding out as an independent State. But Turkey's strength was fast dwindling. The European Powers called Turkey the "Sick Man of Europe". God knows how Iqbal could sing such hopeful songs in those days of utter misery and despondency obtaining in almost all Muslim societies. Besides this, Iqbal made manifest that he had taken a decison about himself too. That decision was a very bold one and high-sounding, keeping in view the contemporary circumstances. He had determined upon giving a lead to the Muslim *Ummah* and bringing it out of the dark dungeons of slavery to the sunny vistas of independence. It was a big decision and he declared it boldly. How odd it all might have looked during those days !

To Iqbal it was something he received from Above. He was sure of the truth of these tidings, yet he remained a bit baffled how it all happened to be revealed to him. This he disclosed to his listeners in December 1921 in London when he was invited to Cambridge to address students. The Urdu words, as laid down by Mr Rafiq Afzal, can be translated as under :

> I would like to offer a few pieces of advice to the young men who are at present studying at Cambridge. Cambridge is a fountain-head of knowledge which has contributed more to the shaping of European culture than all other institutions. I advise you to guard against atheism and materialism. The biggest blunder made by Europe was the separation of Religion and Government. This deprived their culture of moral soul, and diverted it to the atheistic materialism.

I had, twenty-five years ago, seen through the drawback of this civilisation and had, therefore, made some prophesies. They had been delivered by my tongue although I did not quite understand them. This happened in 1907. After six or seven years, my prophesies came true word by word. The European War of 1914 was an outcome of the aforesaid mistake made by the Europeans, i.e. the separation of the Church and the State and the emergence of atheistic materialism. Bolshevism is a natural result of the separation of the Church and the State."[15]

The point I wanted to stress was that Iqbal felt he had received something as a message from Above in 1907 which even to himself was, at that juncture, not clearly understandable. He came to know its implications afterwards.

He composed his famous poems *Sham'-o Shā'ir* and *Jawāb-i Shikwah* in 1912 and 1913, respectively. During this period the Muslims suffered severe setbacks in Tripoli (Libya) and Bulgaria in the Balkans. Turkey, the only independent Muslim State, appeared to be dwindling. Any moment it could fall to the ground. Apparently this was a season of utter helplessness. YetIqbal had the courage to say, at the end of *Sham'-o Shā'ir* :

آسماں ہوگا سحر کے نور سے آئینہ پوش
اور ظلمت رات کی سیماب پا ہو جائے گی
اس قدر ہوگی ترنم آفریں بادِ بہار
نکہتِ خوابیدہ غنچے کی نوا ہو جائے گی
آ ملیں گے سینہ چاکانِ چمن سے سینہ چاک
بزمِ گل کی ہم نفس بادِ صبا ہو جائے گی

15. *Guftār-i Iqbāl*, p. 254.

. . . .

دیکھ لو گے سطوتِ رفتارِ دریا کا مآل
موجِ مضطر ہی اسے زنجیرِ پا ہو جائے گی !

. . . .

آنکھ جو کچھ دیکھتی ہے لب پہ آ سکتا نہیں
محوِ حیرت ہوں کہ دنیا کیا سے کیا ہو جائے گی!
شب گریزاں ہوگی آخر جلوۂ خورشید سے !
یہ چمن معمور ہوگا نغمۂ توحید سے ![16]

[The firmament shall glitter with the light of morn.
The darkness of night shall vanish.
The spring breeze shall sing so luxuriantly
That the dormant scent will turn into the song of the bud.
With bleeding breasts the roses of the garden shall embrace one another.
The zephyr shall again become the intimate companion of the company of roses. . . .
You will see the consequence of the grandiose flow of the river.
How the distressed eddy turns into the fetters for the feet of the river. . . .
I cannot express what I visualise.
I stand wonder-struck on seeing the shape of things to come.
Night shall be vanquished by the rising sun :
And this garden shall resound with the song of *Tauḥīd* (God is one).]

It can be presumed by some readers that such rosy pronouncements made by Iqbal were like the usual fits experienced by poets at large. Sometimes the poets are happy and they issue forth good news.

16. *Bāng-i Darā*, pp. 194-95.

Sometimes they are in a gloomy mood, hence paint gloomy pictures of everything. Even a shining sun looks dusky to their eyes. But Iqbal was not a poet in the ordinary sense carried by the word "poet". His optimism was of permanent nature, at least since 1907, when he heard a Voice from Above, as stated in the foregoing pages. He was different from the general fraternity of poets who follow not their ideology, because they have none; instead, they follow their wild imaginings.

The Qur'ān paints poets in general and their blind followers as under:

و الشعراء يتبعهم الغاون o الم تر انهم فى كل واد يهيمون o و انهم
يقولون ما لا يفعلون o الا الذين آمنوا و عملوا الصلحت و ذكروا الله
كثيراً و انتصروا من بعد ما ظلمواط و سيعلم الذين ظلموا اى منقلب
ينقلبون o[17]

[As for the poets they are followed by those who stagger in evil. Do you not see that they wander distractedly in every valley (of aimless imagination) and that they say what they do not practise?—Except those who believe, work righteousness and engage much in the remembrance of God. And they vindicate themselves (or prepare for victory) after they wronged. And soon will the unjust assailants know what vicissitudes their affairs will take.]

And, as already mentioned, Iqbal wrote his renowned poem *Jawāb-i Shikwah* in 1913. The world of Islam looked steadily drifting towards ruination and defeat. Black clouds of dismay had spread over the horizon for the Muslims. Turks stood defeated at the battle-front of Bulgaria. The combined Christian forces of Balkan territories and those belonging to

17. xxvi. 224-27.

the adjoining States were continuing their attacks on Turkish forces. But Iqbal said that it all meant to wake Muslims up from their slumber. It all meant to see how much sacrifice the Muslims could offer for the sake of their religion and honour. It was to test their faith in Islam. Could they remain faithful to Islam even in apparently most horrible and depressing circumstances? Iqbal speaks, as is his wont, encouragingly:

دیکھ کر رنگِ چمن ہو نہ پریشاں مالی
کوکبِ غنچہ سے شاخیں ہیں چمکنے والی
خس و خاشاک سے ہوتا ہے گلستاں خالی
گل بر انداز ہے خونِ شہدا کی لالی
رنگ گردوں کا ذرا دیکھ تو عنابی ہے
یہ نکلتے ہوئے سورج کی اُفق تابی ہے !

. . . .

ہے جو ہنگامہ بپا شورشِ بلغاری کا
غافلوں کے لیے پیغام ہے بیداری کا !!
تو سمجھتا ہے' یہ ساماں ہے دل آزاری کا
امتحاں ہے ترے ایثار کا ، خود داری کا
کیوں ہراساں ہے صہیلِ فرسِ اعدا سے
نورِ حق بجھ نہ سکے گا نفسِ اعدا سے[18]

[The gardener should not feel disgusted over the lamentable condition of the garden.

Boughs are about to sprout from the bud-star.

The area of the garden is about to be cleared of the rubbish.

The flush of the blood of martyrs is spreading roses (all around).

Look at the sky. It has turned red.

18. *Bāng-i Darā*, pp. 205-06.

It shows the horizon has become ruddy on account of the rising sun. . . .

All this consternation created by the Bulgarian invasions

Is but a message to the forgetful people so that they may (really) come to their senses.

Do you think it is meant only to torture you ?

This is rather to test your capacity to make sacrifice and defend your honour.

Why are you flabbergasted over the neighing of enemy's stallions ?

Divine light cannot be put off by the blows of unbelievers.]

On this point the Qur'ān directs thus :

احسب الناس ان یترکوا ان یقولوا آمنا و هم لا یفتنون[19]

[Do men imagine that they will be left (at ease) because they say : "We believe," and will not be tested with affiiction ?]

And here is a saying of the Holy Prophet on the same subject :

الصبر من الایمان کا الراس من الجسد[20]

[Certitude has the same relation with belief as head has with body.]

This shows that according to Iqbal the fortitude of the Muslim *Ummah* was being put to test. Could they believe only as long as they ruled or were they firm as true Muslims even in slavery and under most miserable circumstances ? Were they easygoing people only or could they prove they were also capable of facing vicissitudes boldly ? A believer must always be hopeful and happy. He knows he is not going to be asked to show to God Almighty the map of territories conquered. He is not going to be asked to

19. xxix. 2.   20. *Al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī*, p. 125.

relate to God accounts of his victories against the forces of evil and unbelief. A believer will have to be accountable to God for his deeds only and that too commensurate with his worth. How much was a person capable of doing and how much did he actually perform ? A Muslim conqueror may not necessarily be a very sincere believer in God. Hence his victories may not inspire other Muslims as much as the defeat and martyrdom of a true believer who tries his best according to his worth and sacrifices his all including life. God Almighty is the best judge of intents and purposes. It is He Who knows the quantum of sincerity with which a believer acts and it is He Who rewards accordingly. If that be the case, then a believer in God can never feel despaired. He is always on duty. He may succeed. He may fail. But he is sure he has done his duty according to what he could possibily do. This internal assurance becomes a sort of satisfaction—a satisfaction which does not slow down his urge to be always up and doing. This satisfaction is rather a state of hopefulness that some way out of all difficulties is about to open upon him. His attitude conforms to the following words of the Qur'ān :

لا تدری لعل اللہ یحدث بعد ذالک امراً [21]

[You know not it may be that Allah will afterward bring some new thing to pass.]

Similarly, the mental stance of a true believer in God is described by the Qur'ān in these words :

الا ان اولیاء اللہ لا خوف علیھم و لا ھم یحزنون [22]

21. lxv. 1.

22. x, 62.

[Hearken the friends of God certainly neither fear nor are they aggrieved.]

They fear God only and none else. Circumstances cannot aggrieve them. And this is how Iqbal characterises the significance of a believer's conviction:

یقیں افراد کا سرمایۂ تعمیرِ ملت ہے
یہی قوت ہے جو صورت گرِ تقدیرِ ملت ہے[23]

[The conviction of individuals is the material which builds society.
This is the only force which shapes its destiny.]

ولایت ، پادشاہی ، علمِ اشیا کی جہانگیری
یہ سب کیا ہیں ؟ فقط اک نقطۂ ایماں کی تفسیریں[24]

[Sovereignty, government, and the world-encompassing knowledge of (the essence of) things
Is nothing but the elucidation of one single point, that is, belief.]

And now we come to a celebrated poem by Iqbal, i.e. *Khiḍr-i Rāh*, which had been written after World War I. With the end of this War the independence of Turkey had also come to an end. This meant Muslims had lost their last sovereign State. With the end of Turkey, apparently all fronts of the Muslims became silent. All flags had bowed down. Iraq and Palestine now went to the British, and Syria was taken over by the French. Iran already had lost its independence. Northern Iran was under the Russian sway and its southern regions were virtually being ruled over by the British. The Moghal Empire in India had long ago gone to the winds. The British had succeeded the Moghals in India. Indonesia was under the Dutch.

23. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 273. 24. Ibid., p. 271.

Malaya, Nigeria, Egypt, Sudan, Aden, Yemen were British colonies and protectorates. Libya had become an Italian territory and so was Somalia. Tunis, Algeria, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, etc., were French colonies. Morocco was partly under France and partly under Spain. Afghanistan's foreign policy was governed by the British.

In short, the independent Muslim countries that we find today on the map of the world and which are so many that their names cannot be committed easily to memory were all colonies of Western Imperialism around the end of World War I. That was the lowest ebb of the political decline of Muslims. Iqbal, like all other poets and thinkers who were alive to the critical situation of the Muslim *Ummah* all over the world, felt immensely aggrieved. Yet he could see that something was about to take place for the good of the *Ummah*. He felt that the circle of decline had become complete, hence the new round was about to start. He bewailed like all other sincere and emotional interpreters of Muslim sentiment, but he behaved differently. He wielded a bleeding pen but with it he painted the word-picture of a rosy day which was about to dawn. Thus his laments did not carry the feelings of defeat. He was capable of singing his grief in enlivening tunes. This is how he does it in *Khiḍr-i Rāh* written in 1922 :

لے گئے تثلیث کے فرزند میراثِ خلیل
خشتِ بنیادِ کلیسا بن گئی خاکِ حجاز!

. . . .

حکمتِ مغرب سے ملت کی یہ کیفیت ہوئی
ٹکڑے ٹکڑے جس طرح سونے کو کر دیتا ہے گاز

ہو گیا مانندِ آب ارزاں مسلماں کا لہو
مضطرب ہے تو کہ تیرا دل نہیں دانائے راز[25]

[The Trinitarians took away the heritage of Prophet Ibrāhīm,
And the clay of Ḥijāz has served as foundation bricks of the Church. . . .
Western diplomacy has done to the Muslim *Ummah*
What *Gāz* does to (a lump of) gold. It cuts gold into pieces.
Muslim blood has become cheap as water.
You are fretful over it because you do not know the secret.]

The mental perspective of these verses is not difficult to understand. Iqbal has alluded to Sharīf Ḥusain of Mecca and his followers who played into the hands of the British and rebelled against the Turks—their Muslim brothers. For a Muslim there is no distinction of race and colour, but the Christian West injected into the body politic of the Arabs poisonous germs of narrow nationalism. Hence Turks were defeated.

And now Iqbal's discourse takes a turn and tries to sooth Muslims all over the world using words of Maulānā Rūmī:

گفت رومی ہر بنائے کہنہ کآباداں کنند
می ندانی اول آں بنیاد را ویراں کنند؟[26]

[Says Rūmī, that to make an old abode habitable again,
The former structure has to be demolished.]

For Iqbal, then, the whole political structure of Muslim *Ummah* had been razed to the ground to build it anew. And what he visualised was his conviction. It was not just a "poetic truth," nor was it a

25. Ibid., p. 264. 26. Ibid.

state of wishful thinking. In the same poem, the last paragraph contains the following verses :

عشق کو فریاد لازم تھی سو وہ بھی ہو چکی
اب ذرا دل تھام کر فریاد کی تاثیر دیکھ !
تو نے دیکھا سطوتِ رفتارِ دریا کا عروج
موجِ مضطر کس طرح بنتی ہے اب زنجیر دیکھ
عام حریت کا جو دیکھا تھا خواب اسلام نے
اے مسلماں آج تو اس خواب کی تعبیر دیکھ
اپنی خاکستر سمندر کو ہے سامانِ وجود
مر کے پھر ہوتا ہے پیدا یہ جہانِ پیر دیکھ ![27]

[Love had to lament and it has done so.
Now take heart and see what effect this lamentation makes.
You have seen the pompous flow of the river at its best,
And now discern how a restive eddy is about to fetter its feet.
Islam had dreamt of universal freedom.
Now, O Muslim ! see, that dream is about to be interpreted.
For a *Salamander* its own ashes serve as a material to regain existence.
Similarly you can see the worn-out world is about to resuscitate.]

As already explained, and not once, Iqbal's message of hope was not just a vain hope. This was his strong conviction. He was immensely sure that the revival of Islam was about to begin. One can imagine that during those days of seemingly dismal despair, his readers and listeners, in general, with all their devotion to him, would not have taken his words as they were and what they connoted. For a great majority of them, I am sure, his glad tidings could not but be a far cry. He lived as an ordinary citizen

27. Ibid., p. 266.

among the individuals of his society. Apparently quite a normal person. He was just one of them. But inwardly he belonged to some other sphere. In other words, we can say he was a blend of ordinary and extraordinary. He, as an ordinary individual, shared the general feelings of those among whom he lived. But his "extraordinariness" had always the upper hand. Therefore he had his way. It does not mean that the Muslim *Ummah* had compromised with their lot. Not the least. They abhorred slavery from the core of their heart. But they could find no way out. Imperialist Powers looked formidable. Muslims had lost the courage to stand to them. And Iqbal told them that the Westerners could not maintain their sway for long because they had their own inherent weaknesses which they could not overcome. Iqbal had studied Western civilisation with a penetrating eye. He saw what those who go by the appearances could not see. It does not mean that he had never experienced the onslaught of doubts. He had such experiences, but his hope was too strong for doubts. The following two verses from *Sāqī Nāmah* show how he stood and what he withstood :

مری فطرت آئینۂ روزگار ! غزالانِ افکار کا مرغزار !
مرا دل ، مری رزم گاہِ حیات ! گمانوں کے لشکر، یقیں کا ثبات![28]

[My nature is the mirror of the age.
It is like an orchard for the gazelles of ideas and thoughts.
My mind is the battlefield of my life
Where there are armies of doubts but where conviction is steadfast.]

Iqbal encountered armies of doubts because he

28. *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 125/417.

belonged to an age when lofty castles of belief stood demolished. But his vision surveyed much above and beyond his age. Therefore his stance was different from that of others. And he was tremendously sure of the truth of what he saw with the eyes of his intuition. So much so that he prayed to God Almighty to infuse in every Muslim individual the same warmth of faith and fidelity. His prayer was as under :

یہی کچھ ہے ساقی متاعِ فقیر ! اسی سے فقیری میں ہوں میں امیر!
مرے قافلے میں لٹا دے اسے لٹا دے ! ٹھکانے لگا دے اسے ![29]

[O the Cup-Bearer (God) ! this is all what I a poor man possess.
And on account of only this, I am rich in poverty.
Distribute it gratis among the people of my caravan,
Distribute it lavishly, to the last drop.]

To be so sure of one's authenticity of vision and conviction is really an extraordinary phenomenon. And now for a while we go back to *Ṭulū'-i Islām*, a very important poem written after *Khiḍr-i Rāh*, already mentioned. This I am doing to show how things went on changing gradually, for the better. *Ṭulū'-i Islām* was written in 1923. The opening verse is :

دلیلِ صبحِ روشن ہے ستاروں کی تنک تابی
افق سے آفتاب ابھرا ، گیا دورِ گراں خوابی ![30]

[When the glow of stars becomes dim it indicates a brilliant morn.
The sun rose from the horizon. And the era of sound sleep vanished.]

Here the first line refers to the dark days when all outward omens were disheartening. Even the

29. Ibid., p. 225/417.

30. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 267.

stars had lost their lustre. Iqbal says with vehemence that the moment the stars become dim is proof that the shining morn is approaching fast. The second line of the verse refers to the changed conditions then prevalent. The sun of hope and success had risen and it had put the night of despair to rout. The next verse is more illustrative than the first:

عروقِ مردۂ مشرق میں خونِ زندگی دوڑا
سمجھ سکتے نہیں اس راز کو سینا و فارابی ![31]

[Now the life-blood has begun to run (again) in the dead veins of the East.
This is a mystery beyond the kin of Abū 'Alī Sīnā and al-Fārābī.]

We know in Iqbal's poetry, East, on occasions, stands for the world of Islam. In the verse just quoted Iqbal wants to explain that the world of Islam, about which he was imparting good news over so many years, had now, in 1923, begun to regain her independence. Tables now looked turned upon the Western Imperialists. Reawakening of Muslims had begun. Once begun it could not be stopped. But this was a fact which had nothing to do with philosophical arguments. Therefore Abū 'Alī Sīnā and al-Fārābī could not be taken for proper guides in this regard. In respect of provision, philosophy is much slower than intuition. Philosophy can say something about what is obvious in Nature but can see nothing of what is hidden.

During this very period the movement against Ḥusain, the Sharīf of Mecca, began to gain momentum. Ḥusain, the British agent, found himself occupy-

31. Ibid.

ing a shaky chair of authority. In short, *Ṭulū'-i Islām* presents the concrete picture of the beginnings of a revolution in the world of Islam. Iqbal had already indicated clearly to that effect. Such indications can be characterised as prophecies of a man of vision. This is how Iqbal made a happy declaration with full confidence:

سرشکِ چشمِ مسلم میں ہے نیساں کا اثر پیدا
خلیل اللہ کے دریا میں ہوں گے پھر گہر پیدا
کتابِ ملتِ بیضا کی پھر شیرازہ بندی ہے
یہ شاخِ ہاشمی کرنے کو ہے پھر برگ و بر پیدا![32]

[The tears of Muslims are about to create the effect of spring clouds.

The river of Ibrāhīm (may peace be on him) will again give birth to pearls.

The Muslim *Ummah* is reuniting, as if scattered leaves of a book are being arranged for binding.

The twig of Hāshim is about to produce flowers and fruit again (twig of Hāshim standing for Muslim *Ummah*).]

The fact is that Iqbal had full faith in the Truth and Righteousness of Islam. Addressing the Muslims of Lahore who had convened a meeting to think over the future of Turkish Caliphate, he maintained:

Why should we present our complaint to human beings? We should, rather, present our complaint to God. Supplications, flattery, and begging will not move the persons concerned. Obedience of none save God is binding on Muslims. Be sure that a community born to fulfil a high purpose cannot die just for nothing.[33]

His hopes were high contrary to the circumstances

32. Ibid., p. 268.
33. Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Anwār-i Iqbāl*, p. 44.

which looked tremendously depressing. What he believed in was that the "Word of God must predominate." To him it was the religion of God that was destined to prevail. He would never despair. This is way he said :

نہ ہو نومید ، نومیدی زوالِ علم و عرفاں ہے
امیدِ مردِ مومن ہے خدا کے راز دانوں میں ![34]

[Do not lose hope : losing hope causes decay of knowledge and vision.

Hopes of a believer are amongst the co-sharers in Divine secrets.]

Writes Professor Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi :

I have read books. I have listened to discourses. I have enjoyed conversations. I have seen life. I have reflected and deliberated. The essence of all this which I characterise as a long and varied experience is the simple fact that the Muslim, in whatever circumstances he may be, would never feel small. He would not cow down. It may be knowlenge and scholarship, wealth and majesty, devotion and courage, but he knows and is confldent that as a Muslim he had been the master of all this and can become so again.[35]

Believers, according to Iqbal, cannot bow before the passing shadows of failures. They know they have to succeed in the long run. Iqbal maintains :

وہ چنگاری خس و خاشاک سے کس طرح دب جائے
جسے حق نے کیا ہو نیستاں کے واسطے پیدا ![36]

[A spark created by God for burning the whole forest (of falsehood)

Cannot be overwhelmed by straws and grass sweepings.]

34. *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 120/412.
35. *Iqbāl : Shakhṣiyat aur Shā'iri*, p. 4.
36. *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 25/317.

The Holy Qurān declares :

هو الذی ارسل رسولہ، با لهدیٰ و دین الحق لیظهره، علی الدین کلہ،
و لو کره المشرکون[37]

[He it is Who has sent His messenger with guidance and the religion of Truth, that He may cause it to prevail over all Religion, however much the idolaters may be averse.]

And says Iqbal :

مقامِ شوق بے صدق و یقیں نیست
یقیں بے صحبتِ روح الامیں نیست
گر از صدق و یقیں داری نصیبے
قدم بے باک نہ، کس در کمیں نیست![38]

[The desired status cannot be achieved without truthfulness and faith,

And faith we cannot have without becoming a companion of Gabriel.

If you have relished even a little bit of faith

Then plant your foot fearlessly. None is in ambush.]

Becoming a companion of Gabriel means possessing thorough knowledge of the Qur'ān which Allah revealed to Muḥammad (S.A.S.) through Gabriel. It was God Who taught Gabriel the Qur'ān word by word. And Gabriel taught Muḥammad (S.A.S.) the same word by word.

In another verse Iqbal says :

ترے ضمیر پہ جب تک نہ ہو نزولِ کتاب
گرہ کشا ہے نہ رازی، نہ صاحبِ کشاف[39]

[As long as the Qur'ān is not revealed upon your soul,

37. ix. 33.
38. *Armughān-i Ḥijāz*, p. 143/1025.
39. *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 78/370.

Neither Rāzī nor the author of *Kashshāf* (al-Zamakhsharī) can solve the riddles.]

According to Iqbal, it is obvious, then, that the Qur'ān cannot be followed unless faith in the truth of the Qur'ān becomes soul deep. Iqbal's undaunted and hopeful stance all his life shows the depth of his faith in the truth of the Qur'ān. Even the darkest moments when the Muslim *Ummah* suffered total defeat and underwent complete subjugation could not shake him.

His confidence in the ultimate victory of Islam never wavered. He believed that the tide that had turned against the Muslims was not to remain like that for long. It was soon to turn in the favour of Muslim *Ummah*. We know every person does have, at times, fits of optimism. But fits are always afloat. Such a fitful person, off and on, returns to despondency which, in actual fact, becomes a dominant feature of his nature. Fits of hope are passing shadows for a common man, whereas Iqbal's hopeful utterances are a message which is flavoured with a steadfast and unmitigating faith. In fact, there is a world of difference between being fitful and faithful.

Here is an anecdote :

A man came to Mu'ādh b. Jabal (R.A.) and said : "Please inform me about two persons. One of them is very particular about saying prayers. He always performs good deeds. He does wrong rarely. But he suffers from lack of conviction and is never free from doubts." Mu'ādh (R.A.) answered : "His doubts will ruin all what he performs." Then the man said : "Now, inform me about a person whose good deeds are not very many but his belief is strong ; occasionally he may sin as well." Mu'ādh (R.A.) kept silence. On seeing this the man stated : "If the doubts of the former certainly ruined all his good deeds, then the conviction

of the latter must do away with his sins." On hearing this Mu'ādh (R.A.) caught hold of the man's hand and said : "I have not seen a jurist better than myself save this man."[40]

Keeping the above anecdote in mind our understanding of the following verse of Iqbal, already quoted in the foregoing pages, becomes clear still :

مرا دل مری رزم گہِ حیات ! گمانوں کے لشکر یقیں کا ثبات ![41]

[My mind is the battlefield of my life
Where there are armies of doubts but where conviction is steadfast.]

Lothrop Stoddard, in his book *The New World of Islam*,[42] dealt exhaustively with the process of subjugation of the Muslim territories by Western Powers. But the main theme of the book, according to what the author had observed and felt, was that the spirit of Muslims had not accepted defeat. He threw light on their inner restlessness. He depicted even what the Muslims of Bukhara and Samarqand had in their minds. The book can inspire Muslim youth even today. The author laid down clearly that the dominion of Western Powers was not going to last long. He expected a strong reaction on the part of the world of Islam in the near future.

Iqbal who, as a seer, could peep into the innermost recesses of Muslim's conscience, could more surely and with more confidence know what was up there. It was Iqbal's conviction in the truth of what he foresaw that made him announce in 1923 with full force :

40. 'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd Allāh, *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, p. 42.
41. *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 425/417.
42. London : Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1922.

مسلماں کو مسلماں کر دیا طوفانِ مغرب نے
تلاطم ہائے دریا ہی سے ہے گوہر کی سیرابی
عطا مومن کو پھر درگاہِ حق سے ہونے والا ہے
شکوہِ ترکمانی ، ذہن ہندی ، نطقِ اعرابی[43]

[The Muslims were obliged to feel like real Muslims on account of Western storms.

It is surely the slappings of waves which nourish a jewel.

What the believer is about to be granted again by Providence

Is the majesty of Turks, the intellect of Indians, and the influence of the Arabs.]

Iqbal's reference to Turks, Indians, and Arabs connotes the grandeur of Muslim conquerors and rulers, loftiness and depth of their thought, and convincing manner of saying things.

The onslaught of Western imperialism continued for more than two centuries. The West had mustered material might. New inventions had equipped the West with much superior killing devices. Asia and Africa lagged behind in this respect and thus were beaten down. The imperialists under the umbrella of their sway tried to spread their religion, culture and language. Every European nation imposed its own language as the medium of instruction and learning alongwith its own syllabi. They spread books containing what could engender doubts in the minds of subjugated peoples regarding their own history, religion and cultural traditions on the one hand and make them feel ignobly inferior and thus kill their souls on the other. The result was as could be expected. The subjugated peoples, barring the honourable exception of the men of faith, began to have whatever was

43. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 267.

theirs and eulogise whatever was Western. In fact, everything Western was neither good nor bad only because it came from the West. Similarly, everything Eastern was neither good nor bad only because it belonged to the East. Islam enjoins upon the believers to pick up whatever is good from wheresoever it comes and is to be made use of. Good and bad do not belong to the East or the West.

But the eyes of the enslaved peoples, in general, lose the sense of correct evaluation. Normally they accept whatever rulers bring and offer because all that relates to emperors looks imperial, hence superior. Especially so is the language of the rulers. Their dress also becomes attractive. Likes and dislikes of the masters are accepted almost unquestioningly and with a grain of pride. The needy and lower strata of subjugated societies are exploited much more than others. Morsels do affect morals. King's prize kills pride. Therefore iron chains look no more like a bond of servitude. Iqbal explains this phenomenon thus:

جادوئے محمود کی تاثیر سے چشمِ ایاز
دیکھتی ہے حلقۂ گردن میں سازِ دلبری[44]

[Under Maḥmūd's spell the ring around the neck of Ayāz
Looks to his eyes like a beautifying device.]

We still remember some big-wigs from amongst us who pronounced Urdu words as the English rulers did. By doing so they thought they became English and hence belonged to the aliens and not to their own countrymen. There were many who were more anglophile than the English themselves. They got good jobs but lost honour. They got high-flown titles,

44. Ibid., p. 261.

but were looked down upon by those who possessed sense of self-respect and appreciated the same in others. This conflict between the conquering West and the conquered East, according to Aziz Ahmad, did the greatest harm to the East in turning the peoples of the East into sheer emulators of those of the West. The East started begging even for values at the door of the West. Yet it was not the zest to work untiringly and not the will to conquer Nature which was emulated fondly. The enslaved communities copied their masters in respect of phoney glitter only.[45]

Iqbal had no sword to wield. He had a pen. He wielded his pen. And the pen of a believing poet is a mighty weapon of war. Iqbal warned the Eastern nations, especially the Muslims, that the West had no values to live by or offer to others. Europe, in his opinion, had become powerful on account of advanced technology and material affluence. No dominion, according to him, could last long if it was not buttressed up with values. A society, though apparently strong, is inwardly weak without morals. It can be characterised as a "delicate bough" on which "no nest can rest". This Iqbal had declared in 1907 when European imperialism was at its highest.

Sir Agha Khan has mentioned how arrogantly the English people were proud of their political strength :

> I recall a breakfast party which I gave in Bombay for some senior British officials. Another guest was a cousin of mine—a devoted and loyal subject of the Queen and profoundly pro-British. But he was a student of history. He discoursed on the fact that an Asiatic race, the Arabs, had ruled Spain for five hundred years and after their departure had left indelible and

45. *Iqbāl, Na'i Tashkil*, p. 464.

splendid marks of their civilization all over Southern Spain; and on the fact that another Asiatic race, the Turks, had established a major empire in the Balkans and around the Eastern Mediterranean and were still ruling it after several centuries. My British guests took this as an affront.

"We will not have such comparisons made," they said. "Our rule is permanent, not something that lasts a few centuries and then disappears. Even to think as you think is disloyal."

Ideas like these seem strange indeed now in the 1950s, when we have seen British rule in India dissolve and pass away like early morning mist before strong sunlight. But this was the atmosphere in which my later boyhood was spent, with its unhappy, brooding awareness of deepening difference and of growing misunderstanding and hostility.[46]

Iqbal never tired of mentioning the magnitude of Europe's moral bankruptcy. He with vehemence expressed his belief that the power and majesty of the West was nothing more than a passing shadow. He could not be taken in by its outer glitterings. He looked to the moral foundation of the modern civilisation emanating from the West. For Iqbal European way of life was basically inimical to moral values. And in his opinion, without morals no society could stand firm for long.

Arther Jones ends his article "Science and Moral Responsibility" with these words :

Humanity without God is bound to succumb to the spirit of age, and to seek its highest ideals in purely mundane objectives, of which the various fashionable ideologies are the latest example. Humanity without God is destined to overwhelm the world with suffering and disaster. No doubt there have always been those who tried to live without God. but never had it been more ruinous, more suicidal to live without God than at the present.[47]

46. *The Memoirs of Aga Khan*, Foreword by Somerset Maugham, p. 467.
47. *Science and Freedom*, p. 254.

Iqbal exhoretd the Muslim East to imbible the spirit of hard work and taste for scientific discovery in which lay the real strength of Europe. Iqbal praised the Europeans for their efficiency and labour. Enslaved peoples could learn a lot of beneficial things from their masters in various fields of learning. But as is the rule, the subjugated societies are easily hoodwinked by appearances. In slavery, human potentialities slacken. To follow easy morals suits their lethargic outlook. The good is what the rulers declare to be good. The faculty of discrimination between good and evil becomes dormant in declining societies or societies under foreign domination. Slaves take to apparent manners of their masters. This is why in the eye of a realist, slaves do not live. They are breathing dead bodies. Their spiritual death is made manifest by blind imitation of their rulers. European domination brought dancing-halls, taverns and free mixing of genders. The colonists themselves always attended Church service but propagated secularism amongst the lovers of learning coming up from the subjugated society. The Western authorities spread their own fashions in countries under their dominion. And the "uppish" groups of enthralled intellectuals become liberals, thinking they had been liberated from uncalled-for restrictions, not knowing that they had fallen victims to their animal lusts blindfolded. Right choice is rarely the lot of the vassals. Enthralled eyes look without seeing. Iqbal shook his coreligionists as well as others, with whom he shared fate, to keep the discerning eye open. He urged them to observe things critically telling them to accept and reject judiciously. He explained thus :

قوتِ مغرب نہ از چنگ و رباب　　نے ز رقصِ دخترانِ بے حجاب !
نے ز سحرِ ساحرانِ لالہ روست　　نے زعریاں ساق و نے از قطعِ موست!
محکمی او را نہ از لا دینی است　　نے فروغش از خطِ لاطینی است !
قوتِ افرنگ از علم و فن است　　از ہمیں آتش چراغش روشن است![48]

[West is powerful neither on account of its musical instruments (or musical concerts)
Nor because of the dances by immodest (naked) girls.
Its power depends neither on the magic of beauties with glowing faces
Nor does it come from naked shins and cut-out tresses.
Its might does not lie in secularism.
Its prosperity is not the outcome of Latin alphabet.
Strength of Europe rests on Sciences and Arts.
This is the fire that keept its lamp burning.]

Iqbal exhorted his coreligionists to look at things with critical eyes. All that glitters is not gold. Sometimes even dross may glitter. Iqbal urges upon his Muslim brethren, all the world over, to penetrate into the secret alloys of the ascendancy of Europe. He pinpoints the reason behind it. According to him, Europe's strength grew from the hard work done by its people in the fields of knowledge and discovery. It was their unremitting toil in all spheres of study and research. In respect of industrial know-how Western societies were far advanced than the Eastern who had fallen into the cosy lap of lethargy. Moreover, the ruling societies neither provide nor allow enslaved communities opportunities for progress. The masters, instead, lead their slaves towards the orchards of ease. They are fed on literature and thought meant to confuse their thinking and render them inert.

48. *Jāvid Nāmah*, p. 178/766.

They are taught the culture patterns suitable to slaves. The result is as it has always been. The ruled fall into the trap of their rulers. The ruled emulate what the rulers seem to do. The ruled go by appearances. They do not try to look behind the wall. As is well known, what the Europeans showed to the subjugated communities was the obvious glamour and pomp. They built dancing-halls, taverns, theatres and clubs. They drank, they danced and they demonstrated how freely the opposite genders mixed. They exhibited fascinating fashions of costumes and haircut. But they did not try to train their "wards" to inculcate in them active habits and enterprising spirit. Iqbal could see the trees in spite of the forest. And he went on drumming this fact into the ears of the East, especially the Muslim East. He declared that whatever was good had to be picked up and appropriated. This, according to his belief, had been enjoined upon the Muslims as is given in the following verse of his :

گفت حکمت را خدا خیرِ کثیر   ہر کجا ایں خیر را بینی بگیر[49]

[God has stated that Wisdom is enormous good.
Wheresoever you find wisdom get at it.]

Yet the fact remains that to choose judiciously is an uncommon phenomenon. First, a person should really understand relevance and reference. What is good, in what respect and to whom? One has to learn a lot of history, philosophy, ethics and what not to be able to choose correctly. One has to plunge into the recesses of one's own self to know what

49. Ibid., p. 74/662.

one aught and what one aught not to learn and unlearn. Iqbal did so the whole of this life :

اسی کشمکش میں گزریں مری زندگی کی راتیں
کبھی سوز و سازِ رومی ، کبھی پیچ و تابِ رازی ![50]

[The nights of my life were spent in a state of constant conflict,
Now fervent like Rūmī and then agitated like Rāzī.]

After long and toilsome pondering over the surrounding circumstances and observing the laws of Nature, he got at the satisfying conviction, as has been elaborated in the beginning of this chapter. He was right and convinced when he said :

الفاظ کے پیچوں میں الجھتے نہیں دانا
غواص کو مطلب ہے صدف سے کہ گہر سے؟
پیدا ہے فقط حلقۂ اربابِ جنوں میں
وہ عقل کہ پا جاتی ہے شعلے کو شرر سے[51]

[The wise do not get entangled in the intricacies of words.
The diver minds the pearl and not the shell.
The intellect that discerns the flame in spark
Can be found in the circle of mad folk only (those who are generally deemed as unreasonable persons).]

Iqbal had come to know that he was an abnormal person who saw what others could not. Such abnormal persons are called "unreasonable" by those who take themselves for reasonable individuals. There is an old Persian saying, ہنر ور در بے ہنراں خر which means than an experienced person among the coterie of inexperienced ones is equal to a donkey. A folly agreed upon among the foolish majority becomes the standard wisdom, and whosoever would not con-

50. *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 17/309. 51. *Ḍarb-i Kalim*, p. 42/504.

from to it should be called a fool. The wise, the thoughtful and the seers have always been ridiculed and tortured by the haughty majority of the self-styled Aesops.

Iqbal also looked strange to his contemporaries. What he said sounded improbable during those days. But he was sure of the authenticity of what he said. As against other poets and philosophers, he saw with an eye possessing a spectrum of things quite different from that of the eyes of his co-visionaries. As has been expressed in a verse just quoted above he did not much bother about words and phrases. He had he eye on meanings. This is what, in all hunility, he has laid down about his verses. Yet all who can read his poetry know that, as a master artist, he has chosen words, phrases and rhymes which make his thought sing. His philosophy sometimes descends upon souls directly, bypassing intellect. He had declared around the year 1926 in the following words :

خضرِ وقت از خلوتِ دشتِ حجاز آید بروں
کارواں زیں وادیٔ دور و دراز آید بروں
من بہ سیمائے غلاماں فرِ سلطاں دیدہ ام
شعلۂ محمود از خاکِ ایاز آید بروں !
عمرہا در کعبہ و بت خانہ می نالد حیات
تا ز بزمِ عشق یک دانائے راز آید بروں !
طرحِ نو می افگند اندر ضمیرِ کائنات
نالہ ہا کز سینۂ اہلِ نیاز آید بروں !
چنگ را گیرید از دستم کہ کار از دست رفت
نغمہ ام خوں گشت و از رگ ہائے ساز آید بروں ![52]

52. *Zabūr-i 'Ajam*, p. 73/465. English trans. by A.J. Arberry *: Persian Psalms*, p. 64.

[Out of Hejaz and the lonely plain
The Guide of the Time is come,
Back from the far, far vale again
The Caravan hastens home.
Lo, on the brow of the slaves I see
The Sultan's splendour bright.
The dust of Ayaz shines radiantly
With Mahmud's torch alight.
In Kaaba and Temple long, long years
The deep lament arose,
Till from Love's banquet now appears
One Man who the Secret knows.
The sighs that out of the bosom break
Of a people at earnest prayer
A brave and new foundation make
In Life's mind everywhere.
O take the trembling lute from me,
For my hand can play no more ;
In streams of blood my melody
From the heart of the harp doth pour.]

The five couplet quoted above are immensely prophetic.

In the first couplet Iqbal indicates clearly that the appearance of the Guide of the Time was just round the corner. And the Caravan was about to start and emerge from this valley. Iqbal did not say that the awaited Guide had to emerge from the centre of Ḥijāz. He said he was going to appear from a far-flung valley. For Iqbal the desert of Ḥijāz, at times, serves as a symbol for the Muslim *Ummah*. This meant that Muslims of the Indian subcontinent were about to have a man who was destined to guide them to the goal of victory and that victory was to become the start ng point of the resurgence of Islam.

In the second couplet, he breaks the news of the

dawn which was near at hand. The slaves were turning into magnificent masters.

In the third couplet he stresses the point that Seers come to the world of man after centuries. He was one of those Seers.

In the fourth couplet he refers to some ideology or principle quite new to the world which would affect the conscience of all humanity. And what else could it be, if it was not the right of self-determination which the Muslims of the subcontinent were about to exert. After the emergence of Pakistan this right became a powerful reference. It served as the advent of a new principle. The Muslims of the Philippines, perhaps, would not have to strive for the achievement of their "Pakistan" in their Muslim majority islands. Muslims of Thailand's seashore areas with Muslim majority, perhaps, would not have demanded a separate State for themselves, had Pakistan not come to be.

Then in the fifth couplet Iqbal clearly indicates that he would die before the coming of Freedom. He was sure that the verses which epitomised his most earnest sentiments would stand in good stead in respect of exhorting the Muslims of the subcontinent on to the goal of Freedom.

And it was Iqbal who at Allahabad session of the All-India Muslim League, in his Presidential Address, put forward the idea of a Muslim State in the North-Western Muslim majority regions of India. It was in December 1930. In the beginning, as was but natural, this idea was vague. That State could be a big autonomous Muslim province within Indian Federation. It could be out of India but within British Common-

wealth. And so on. It went on evolving until it assumed the shape of Muslim State or States in the North-Western and Eastern Muslim majority zones as is obvious from the following lines, occurring in Iqbal's letter of 21 June 1937 to the Quaid-i Azam, only ten months before his death :

> A separate federation of Muslim provinces, re-formed on the lines I have suggested above. is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are ?[53]

Some vested interests of blurred vision state that Iqbal's proposed Muslim State comprised only the regions which make present Pakistan. On the contrary, as is shown in the above extract from Iqbal's letter, Iqbal's Pakistan was what we had before the War of December 1971.

One thing more. It was Iqbal who called upon Quaid-i Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to lead the Muslims of India to their cherished goal. He preferred the Quaid-i Azam to all other Muslim leaders. Amongst them were giants of politics who had lots of political experience and vision, for example Sir Agha Khan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal, Sir Ali Imam, Maulvi Tameezuddin Khan, Maulana Abul Kalam, Allamah al-Mashriqi and others. But Iqbal's vision had its own reasons. He had found his *Khiḍr-i Rāh*, the "Awaited Guide," in Quaid-i Azam Muhammad Ali

53. *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, p. 24.

Jinnah who was destined to lead the Indian branch of Muslim *Ummah* to their goal of Freedom. Iqbal's words in this regard were as follows :

> I know you are a busy man ; but I do hope you won't mind my writing to you so often, as you *are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India and perhaps to the whole of India.*[54]

Similar sentiments were expressed by Iqbal, about three months before his death, regarding Quaid-i Azam Jinnah. Sayyid Nazir Niyazi in his book *Iqbāl Ke Ḥuḍūr* has stated on pages 297 and 298 (first ed.) that the future of Indian Muslims was being discussed and a tenor of pessimism was visible from what his friends said. At this Iqbal observed :

> There is only one way out. Muslims should strengthen Jinnah's hands. They should join the Muslim League. Indian question, as is now being solved, can be countered by our (Muslim) united front against both the Hindus and the English. Without it our demands are not going to be accepted. People say our demands smack of communalism. This is sheer propaganda. These demands relate to the defence of our national existence. . . .
>
> The united front can be formed under the leadership of the Muslim League. And the Muslim League can succeed only on account of Jinnah. Now none but Jinnah is capable of leading the Muslims.

And as is stated by Matlubul Hasan Saiyid, the Quaid-i Azam, after the Lahore Resolution (subsequently called the Pakistan Resolution) was passed on 23 March 1940, talking to him said :

> Iqbal is no more amongst us. But had he been alive he

54. Ibid., pp. 20-21. Italics ours.

would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do.[55]

But the matter does not end here. Iqbal, in his letter of 20 March 1937, had expressed as under:

> While we are ready to cooperate with other Progressive Parties in the country, we must not ignore the faet that the whole future of Isiam as a moral and political force in Asia rests very largely on a complete organisation of Indian Muslims.[56]

It means that, according to Iqbal, the future of Islam as a moral and political force, not only in India but in the whole of Asia, rested on the organisation of the Muslims of India.

Iqbal had believed in the emergence of the Guide of the Time, and had declared accordingly in about 1926. He found that Guide in the person of Muhammad Ali Jinnah as elucidated above. The Guide organised the Muslims of India under the banner of the Muslim League. He then put up a strong opposition to both the Hindus and the English who wanted a United India where Hindus had an overwhelming overall majority, i.e. seventy-five per cent of the total population of the subcontinent. Muslims, through their united efforts under the able guidance of the Quaid-i Azam, succeeded in getting India divided into Pakistan and Bharat. The Muslims achieved their independent homeland. But, as has been laid down above, in Iqbal's view, the organisation of Indian Muslims which achieved Pakistan has also to defend other Muslim societies in Asia. The caravan of the resurgence of Islam has to start and come out of this Valley, far off from the centre of the *Ummah*.

55. *M.A. Jinnah : A Political Study*, p. 329.
56. *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, p. 13.

Let us see if, how and when Pakistan prepares itself to shoulder that august responsibility. We are sure it has to be like that. It is Iqbal's pre-vision. The Holy Prophet has said: "Beware of the foresight of a Believer, for he sees with the Light Divine."

4

IQBAL ON UMMAH'S BRIGHT FUTURE

"Nationalism is the feeling of belonging to a group unified by common racial, linguistic and territorial ties and is usually identified with a separate territory. A corresponding ideology which exalts the Nation State as the ideal form of political organisation with an overriding claim on the loyalty of its citizens."[1]

This is how Nationalism is generally defined. This definition does not apply to the Muslims who are not a nation according to the Western political terminology. Muslims are not united by a common race. They are not united by a common tongue. They do not belong to a particular territory. Their loyalty is to their religion—Islam—and not to any other ideology. Their unity is spiritual. This is what Allamah Muhammad Iqbal proclaims:

اپنی ملت پر قیاس اقوامِ مغرب سے نہ کر
خاص ہے ترکیب میں قومِ رسولِ ہاشمی ؐ
اُن کی جمعیت کا ہے ملک و نسب پر انحصار
قوتِ مذہب سے مستحکم ہے جمعیت تری[2]

[Do not analogise with Western nations.
The religion of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) who came of the Hashimite clan has been shaped in a specific manner.

1. *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, p. 409.
2. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 248.

Western nations are based on territory and race,
Whereas the strength of your community rests on the might of your religion.]

Territorial relationship is the most important element in the Western idea of nationalism. But the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) migrated from his domicile for the sake of religion and thus proved that in the life of a believer religion is much more valuable than the birth-place. Says Iqbal :

عقدۂ قومیتِ مسلم کشود   از وطن آقائے ما ہجرت نمود[3]

[Our Master, fleeing from his fatherland,
Resolved the knot of Muslim nationhood.]

By migrating to Medina the Prophet (peace be on him) made manifest that Islam was not Mecca-based. The lesson was that in case there be a conflict between the love of one's birth-place and the good of Islam, the latter had to be preferred. There is a saying of the Prophet : "Islam is a stranger" (الاسلام غریب). This means Islam is not earth-bound. It does not depend upon some particular land. It belongs to the whole world. Iqbal lays stress on this point time and again :

ہجرت آئینِ حیاتِ مسلم است   این ز اسبابِ ثباتِ مسلم است
معنیٔ او از تنک آبی رم است   ترکِ شبنم بہرِ تسخیرِ یم است[4]

[Flight is the law that rules the Muslim's life,
And is a cause of his stability ;
Its meaning is to leap from shallowness,
To quit the dew, the ocean to subdue.]

Elucidating the same thesis still further, he pro-

3. *Rumūz-i Bekhudi* p. 114. English translation by A. J. Arberry, *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, p. 30.
4. Ibid. Arberry, p. 31.

claims:

ہر کہ از قیدِ حیات آزاد شد چوں فلک در شش جہت آباد شد[5]

[He who has burst from all dimensions' bonds
Ranges through all directions, like the sky.]

Love of one's homeland to the extent of worship breeds hatred towards alien lands. In this regard Indian society of al-Bīrūnī's time sets the most glaring example. He, in his book on India, has stated that for the Hindus their own homeland was the only clean territory in the whole world. All other lands were defiled. This he has related in the very first chapter of his *Kitāb al-Hind*. Now as all alien lands were soiled and polluted, all human societies other than Indian stood automatically sullied. Al-Bīrūnī has explained that the Indian word for a foreigner or alien is *Malechha*. But since all alien regions were unclean, hence *Malechha* gradually began to denote an unclean and defiled person.

Barring a limited number of enlightened individuals, the general attitude of the Hindus towards aliens is almost the same even now. The majority of Indian Muslims are descendants of persons who had not come from foreign lands. They were Indians since times immemorial, but they also became *Malechhas* in the eyes of the Hindus only because they had joined the Muslim fold, that of *Malechhas*. This is the most horrible form of territorial prejudice. Iqbal, as a torch-bearer of Islam, abhorred such narrowness of vision which made one human society discriminate against the other to such an extent:

آنچناں قطعِ اخوت کردہ اند بر وطن تعمیرِ ملت کردہ اند[6]

5. Ibid., p. 115. Arberry, p. 31. 6. Ibid. Arberry, p. 32.

[Now Brotherhood has been so cut to shreds
That in the stead of the Community
The Country has been given pride of place
In men's allegiance and constructive work.]

According to Iqbal's belief:

Islam is not earth-bound. It aims at shaping a human society by the commingling of races and nationalities so that an *Ummah* with a specific self-consciousness may emerge.[7]

Iqbal disdained race-prejudice as much as he disdained territorial pride. In his eyes the racial swagger was equally inimical to the fraternity of mankind. This too causes disunion, discord and discrimination. Islam being the message of brotherhood to all humanity cannot make room for race and colour discrimination. Iqbal has repeatedly denounced this egotism. For example:

بر نسب نازاں شدن نادانی است　　حکمِ او اندر تن و تن فانی است[8]

[It is dull ignorance to put one's boast
In lineage ; that judgment rests upon
The body, and the body perishes.]

Similarly he says:

گر نسب را جزوِ ملت کردۂ　　رخنہ در کارِ اخوت کردۂ[9]

[If thou hast made of our Community
Lineage a part essential, thou hast rent
The fabric of true Brotherhood.]

Islam is the spiritual rallying point for humanity. Islam as such has the capacity to stand for a fatherland as well as a family in the eyes of a Muslim. Through Islam, humanity may get rid of racial, territorial and colour prejudices which serve as perpetual

7. Reported by Sayyid Nazir Niyazi, *Iqbāl Ke Ḥuḍūr*, p. 150.
8. *Rumūz-i Bekhudi*, p. 93. Arberry, p. 13.
9. Ibid., p. 162. Arberry, p. 74.

promptors towards killing and other manifold outrages perpetrated by man against man. Believers in one God cannot entertain the Aristotelian idea of "born rulers" and "born slaves". Hence there can be no "social Darwinism". All human beings have equal rights.

If God is one, the Book is one and the Prophet (who is the last of the Prophets of God) is one, then the believers in one God, provided they are sincere believers, have inevitably to be one. The idea of chosen people can never be accommodated in the framework of Islamic teachings and practices. All preferences according to Islam are spiritual. The Qur'ān declares that the most honourable in the eyes of God is the one who fears God most. He who is pious, to howsoever a low family he may belong, is more respectable, according to Islam, than an impious prince. Similarly, an alien who is a better believer than a blood-relation should be comparatively dearer to a sincere believer.

This shows that a Muslim society has to be a manifestation of spiritual brotherhood. This society has to be governed by principles laid down in the *Sharī'ah*. In this regard we must mention the battle of Badr fought between the Qureshite idolaters of Mecca and the Muslims, a year after the Prophet (peace be on him) had migrated to Medina. The Muslims were led to the battlefield by the Prophet (peace be on him) himself. This battle decided once for all that spiritual ties should be stronger than blood-relationship among the Muslims. We know how acutely the clan spirit worked in the Arabs of those days. But the battlefield of Badr presented a unique phenomenon. Here, the Prophet (peace be on

ed no bounds. *As-Salām 'Alaikum* was their visa, and *Kalimah Ṭayyibah* (لا الٰہ الا اللہ محمد رسول اللہ) was their passport. The students, scholars and saints could learn, teach and preach with honour in every Muslim principality. This state of feeling was according to Iqbal:

ره بحر میں آزادِ وطن صورتِ ماہی[11]

[Like a fish who does not know where a certain bay ends and a sea begins. Whole ocean belongs to the fish.]

It was Western imperialism which separated the Muslim territories and populations. Different Western Powers established their rule in different Muslim territories and imposed their own conditions in respect of visas and passports. Thus for the first time the Muslims felt that a gulf of alienation had been interposed between them. At the same time they became acutely conscious of the fact that they had always been one through centuries. It was this sense of loss of unity which prompted the Muslim leaders, religious as well as political, to devise some means for bringing the Muslim peoples together. Maulānā Jamāluddīn Afghānī appeared on the scene. He founded a society for the purpose, called *Umm al-Qurā*, at Mecca in 1857. Similar voices came to be heard from almost all over the Muslim world. Special interest was shown by the Ottoman Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz and the Grand Vizier Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā.

It is Islam which is the binding force. Muslims amidst territorial, cultural, and social diversities feel attracted towards one another. Islam has a remarkable unifying spirit. Sayyid Nazir Niyazi quotes Allamah Iqbal in this regard:

11. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 160.

You have not been to Europe otherwise you would have seen with your own eyes that a German, in spite of a common culture and civilisation, does not possess as much warmth for an Englishman as is possessed by an Afghan for a Turk. Notwithstanding the decline and in spite of the fact that mutual relations stand broken, Muslims meet alien Muslims like long separated brothers.[12]

In his Lectures also Iqbal had explained this very point thus :

"And We have created you all from *one* breath of life," says the Quran. But the perception of life as an organic unity is a slow achievement, and depends for its growth on a people's entry into the main current of world-events. This opportunity was brought to Islam by the rapid development of a vast empire. No doubt Christianity, long before Islam, brought the message of equality to mankind ; but Christian Rome did not rise to the full apprehension of the idea of humanity as a single organism.[13]

Why has Christian faith not been able to weld Christian people into one *Ummah*? The answer is that the Christian people, whenever they predominate, are separate nations in the real sense of the term "nation". To elucidate the point Rena's opinion is given below :

What constitutes a nation is not speaking the same tongue, or belonging to the same ethnic group, but having accomplished great things common in the past and to wish to accomplish them in future.[14]

The English, the French and the Italian people are different territorial and linguistic nations, although they belong to the same ethnic groups. Each of these nations has a history of its own. Each of them has

12. Sayyid Nazir Niyazi, op. cit., p. 150.
13. *The Recontruction*, p. 140.
14. *Might of Nations*, p. 11.

its separate treasure of achievements to take pride in. The French cannot be expected to be proud of some brilliant chapters in German history and vice versa. But for Muslims the past history of almost all Muslim peoples is common heritage. Their heroes are almost common in whatever field of life they were and to whatever race and territory they belonged. W.C. Smith has a keen understanding of this phenomenon. He says :

> Islamic form was given to almost every aspect of life whatever its content. And it was Islamic pattern that gave the society cohesion as well as vitality. The centre of this unifying force was religious law which regulated within its powerful and precise sweep everything from prayer rites to property rights. The law gave unity to Islamic society from Cordova to Multan. It gave unity also to the individual Muslim, his entire life activity being organised into a meaningful whole by this divine pattern.[15]

Iqbal found the Muslims subjugated all over the world. The Muslim political strength was at its lowest ebb. But he was sure it was just a phase. It could not last long. Muslims must re-emerge. During the days of Khilafat Movement he addressed the Muslims of Lahore who had convened a meeting to think over the future of the Turkish Caliphate. His words were :

> Why should we present our complaint to human beings. We should, rather, present our complaint to God. Supplications, flattery, and begging will not move the persons concerned. Obedience of none save God is binding on Muslims. Be sure that a community born to fulfil a high purpose cannot die just for nothing.[16]

15. *Islam in Modern History*, p. 37.
16. B.A. Dar, *Anwār-i Iqbāl*, p. 44.

It was not only Iqbal who never lost hope. The collective will of the Muslim *Ummah* had not bowed before the onslaught of Western imperialism. Muslims all over the world believed that their decline was just a phase. They knew, and rightly so, that their political defeat was the result of their lethargy, mutual distrust, intrigues, dissensions and lack of leadership. They were sure, there was nothing wrong with their religion because their religion was the last and comprehensive code of life revealed to Allah's last Prophet (peace be on him) for the collective good of mankind. All other ethical, political and social theories were wrong because they were created by human beings who are not their own creators. It is only Allah Who is the creator and Who knows what is good for man and what is harmful. The Qur'ān contains all that is good. All else has to vanish, as Iqbal says :

وہ چنگاری خس و خاشاک سے کس طرح دب جائے
جسے حق نے کیا ہو نیستاں کے واسطے پیدا ![17]

[How could that spark be overwhelmed by trash which was created by God to consume whole forest (of falsehood).]

In this respect Lothrop Stoddard quotes from Sir Theodore Morison's book *England and Islam* :

No Mohammadan believes that Islamic civilisation is dead or incapable of further development. They recognise that it has fallen on evil days ; that it has suffered from an excessive veneration of the past, from prejudice and bigotry and narrow scholasticism not unlike that which obscured the European thought in Middle Ages ; but they believe that Islam too is about to have its Renaissance, that it is receiving from Western

17. *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 25/317.

learning a stimulus which will quicken it into fresh activity and that the evidences of this new life are everywhere manifest.[18]

And we should keep in mind that Stoddard's book, referred to above, had appeared in 1922. This shows that it was being written in 1920-21, i.e. before Mustafa Kemal had established his Republic in Turkey and before Sulṭān Ibn Sa'ūd had conquered Ḥijāz.

Iqbal's confidence in the ultimate victory of Islam never wavered. He believed that the tide that had turned against the Muslims was not to remain like that for long. It was soon to turn in favour of the Muslim *Ummah*. We know, every person does have, at times, fits of optimism. But fits are always afloat. A fitful person, off and on, returns to despondency which in actual fact becomes a dominant feature of his nature. Fits for hope are passing shadows whereas Iqbal's hopeful utterances are a message which is flavoured with a steadfast and unmitigating faith. In fact, there is a world of difference between being fitful and faithful. Here is an anecdote :

A man came to Mu'ādh b. Jabal (R.A.) and said : "Please inform me about two persons. One of them is very particular about saying prayers. He always performs good deeds. He does wrong rarely. But he suffers from lack of conviction and is never free from doubts." Mu'ādh (R.A.) answered : "His doubt will ruin all what he performs." Then the man said : "Now inform me about a person whose good deeds are not very many but his belief is strong. Occasionally he may sin as well." Mu'ādh kept silence. On seeing this the man stated that if the doubts of the former certainly ruined all his good deeds, then the conviction of the latter must do away with his sins. On hear-

18. Stoddard, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

ing this Mu'ādh (R.A.) caught hold of the man's hand and said : I have never seen a jurist better than myself save this man."[19]

Iqbal, who, as a seer, could peep into the innermost recesses of Muslim conscience, could more surely and with more confidence know what was up there. It was Iqbal's conviction in the truth of what he foresaw and made him announce in 1923 with full force :

مسلماں کو مسلماں کر دیا طوفانِ مغرب نے
تلاطم ہائے دریا ہی سے ہے گوہر کی سیرابی
عطا مومن کو پھر درگاہِ حق سے ہونے والا ہے
شکوہِ ترکمانی ، ذہنِ ہندی ، نطقِ اعرابی[20]

[The Muslims were obliged to feel like real Muslims on account of Western storms.
It is surely the slappings of waves which nourish a jewel.
What the believer is about to be granted again by the Providence,
Is the majesty of the Turks, intelligence of the Indians and fluency of the Arabs.]

Iqbal was not alone in predicting a bright future for the Muslims. There was a world of difference between what others foresaw and what Iqbal saw and prophesied. Iqbal, as a believing thinker, knew and could explain the why of his "Hope". He could reason it out. He knew that all contemporary social structures were based on materialism and, as such, could not last long. No society can retain for long its strength and sway with the help of advanced technology only. Every social structure needs to be buttressed by moral values. No scientific research,

19. 'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd Allah, *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, p. 42.
20. *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 267.

however intensive and extensive, can give moral values. Morality rests on man's respect for man. For this purpose man should first know himself and should become a real self, i.e. one integrated whole. This he cannot without believing in one God, leading life according to the teachings of the Qur'ān which is the complete code of life, practised in the best and perfect manner by the Holy Prophet. Says Iqbal :

مقامِ خویش اگر خواہی دریں دیر   بحق دل و بند راہِ مصطفیٰ رو ![21]

[If you want to attain your station in this world,
Then believe sincerely in one God and keep to the path of Prophet Muḥammad (peace be on him).]

All such persons could become one family, without distinction of race, colour and territory. Islam was the only religion which could encompass all human societies and thus unify all mankind. Iqbal explains :

عرب کے سوز میں سازِ عجم ہے   حرم کا راز توحیدِ امم ہے
تہی وحدت سے ہے اندیشۂ عرب   کہ تہذیبِ فرنگی بے حرم ہے ![22]

[Arabian fervour has within it the non-Arabian melodies,
The hidden purpose of the sanctuary of Ka'bah is to unify all nations.
Western thought is bereft of the idea of Oneness,
Because the Western civilisation has no Ka'bah.]

Arab here stands for Islam. The pilgrimage to the Ka'bah brings together all nations of the world where they meet in one common dress without any racial or territorial distinctions, rich and poor looking alike. This pilgrimage to the Santuary is a great unifying factor. No other place on God's earth serves

21. *Armughān-i Ḥijāz*, p. 65/947.   22. *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 82/374.

the purpose. Dr Zaki Ali (from Switzerland) states in this respect, referring to the League of Nations, headquartered in Geneva :

> In Geneva are big Powers and small Powers, in Mecca there is one community, in Geneva there are representatives of Governments, in Mecca there are representatives of nations, in Geneva there are distinctions and discriminations, in Mecca there is equality, in Geneva there is lip-service to the Covenant or Pact, in Mecca there is pious allegiance to the word of the Quran, in Geneva there is a spirit of conflicting interests, jealousy and selfish competition for gain, in Mecca there is a spirit of Islamic brotherhood and boundless devotion to God. Western leaders and statesmen may with advantage study Muhammad (peace be on him). Geneva should learn a valuable and practical lesson from Mecca ; and the League Reformers may do well to consult the Quran.[23]

In the following verses Iqbal has given the gist of what Dr Zaki Ali asserted in prose :

اس دور میں اقوام کی صحبت بھی ہوئی عام
پوشیدہ نگاہوں سے رہی وحدتِ آدم !
تفریقِ ملل حکمتِ افرنگ کا مقصود
اسلام کا مقصود فقط ملتِ آدم !
مکے نے دیا خاکِ جنیوا کو یہ پیغام !
جمعیتِ اقوام کہ جمعیتِ آدم ؟[24]

[These days nations are mixing freely (at Geneva), yet the unity of mankind, as a goal, is hidden from their eyes.

The object of Western diplomacy is to discriminate against nations, while Islam aims at moulding all mankind into a single *Ummah.*

Mecca issued a message to Geneva's surroundings : "Should there be a union of nations or the union of all mankind ?"]

23. *Islam in the World*, pp. 391-92. 24. *Darb-i Kalim*, p. 58/520.

The United Nations of today is not substantially different from yesterday's "League of Nations". And the message of Mecca too is similarly valid today as it was yesterday.

It is only Islam that can cater to the spiritual and material needs of human beings and it is Islam only which can bring about spiritual brotherhood of all mankind. Islam is, therefore, the future religion of all human races wherever they be. The trouble is that Muslim societies today themselves are in utter disarray. Real leader or leaders are needed. The will is there. Union of all mankind is the inner voice of all Muslims. In the words of Iqbal :

ہنوز ایں چرخِ نیلی کج خرام است
ہنوز ایں کارواں دور از مقام است
ز کارِ بے نظامِ او چہ گویم
تو می دانی کہ ملت بے امام است[25]

[The azure firmament is still wayward. This Caravan (of the Muslims) is still far off from the destination.

What should I say about unruly and purposeless strivings of the *Ummah* ? You know yourself that the *Ummah* is without leadership.]

Is there no leader ? Can there be no leader ? It is a big challenge.

The sense of equality is to be practised and not preached only. Individual and social justice must be done. No Muslim society can be called a Muslim society where material preferences are prevalent instead of spiritual. Here is a popular saying of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) :

25. *Armughān-Ḥijāz*, p. 32/914.

> You see the believers in the matter of their mutual sympathy, love and kindness like a single organism. When one of its l mbs has a complaint the whole body protests against it by keeping awake and suffering from fever.

The late Dr Muhammad Rafiuddin, one of the staunch upholders and promoters of the teachings of Allamah Iqbal, explained the same idea of cohesion in the following words:

> The members of every ideal group love each other no doubt, but in the case of a group which loves the Right Ideal the members' love for each other is capable of evolving up to the highest possible extent. The reason is that the nature of the Right Ideal is such that an individual can devote to it all the love of which he is capable without any reservantions or subconscious dissatisfactions, and his love can control all his animal impulses so completely that they are rendered incapable of interfering with its growth. As a consequence, the unity of a group of such individuals becomes so perfect that the distress of one member becomes the distress of all the rest as if the group is a single individual whose limbs and organs are the members of the group.[26]

The stance of different Muslim peoples and societies in relation to the *Ummah* is like that of the individuals and groups in relation to a society. If a Muslim society suffers pain, the whole *Ummah* must feel distressed. As in a society, well-off individuals or groups, behaving callously towards their affected brothers, are not looked up to as brothers, similarly well-to-do societies of the *Ummah*, who remain insensate to the plight of the afflicted Muslim societies, have, in fact, no right to be called brotherly societies. Sincerity is measured through action and not through high-sounding verbal sympathies. If an injured limb

26. *The Manifesto of Islam*, p. 126.

is not timely cured, the whole body, by and by, loses strength. If the *Ummah*, the organic body of all Muslim groups and societies, does not exercise its potentialities to nurse the wounds of a group or society belonging to it, then the whole *Ummah* will slowly and slowly come to grief. If the resources of the *Ummah*, i.e. manpower and all sorts of wealth, are in some way pooled and the Muslim societies have the will to become united, then the *Ummah* can reign supreme in the world of men. Let the *Ummah* conquer the field of technology. Let the *Ummah* build its own defence industry in regions most suitable for this purpose. Let Muslim wealth be in Muslim banks. Let Muslims establish their own international news agency.

God commands the believers to be always in a state of readiness for war. The idea of one God is a perpetual challenge to all the unbelievers and polytheists of the world who always behave as a united front against Muslims, the believers in one God. Let Muslims shun physical and mental lethargy. Complaisance in the world of constant struggle and challenge is akin to death. To rest is to rust. Life is an unending *jihād.* The Holy Prophet has told the *Ummah* that a believer who is strong is loved by God more than the one who is weak. Muslims in so many countries are fighting the forces of evil. Muslims of Afghanistan, Palestine, Pakistan, Kashmir, Eritria, Cyprus, Philippines and in several other regions of the world are in need of the collective support of the *Ummah.* Let the *Ummah* really become a forceful united body capable of defending the rights of the Muslims the world over. The sentiment of unity is there. The feel-

ing of insecurity is also there. Await this dee WILL. Do we have the will to do something tangible in this regard ? Is it not an Idea which can rightly demand sacrifice from Muslim groups and societies for the sake of the *Ummah* ?

5

IQBAL ON MAN'S RESPECT FOR MAN

In the contemporary era, in almost every region of the world, human societies exist consisting mainly of persons who are no persons. They are bereft of the Self, hence they have no respect for other Selves. It is not in fact the economic problems, technological havocs or nuclear fears which enhance the danger to the existence of humanity. It is rather the lack of man's self-cognizance as a man. Man is the only creature who is capable of analysing his own intents and purposes. Man has analytical intellect and hence is accountable for what he does and what he wistfully wants to do. Good and bad intentions also leave their impact on the personality of the intender.

Had man respected man as the most valuable creation of God, he would not have let loose his callous powers upon societies. The result is that man fears man more than he fears tigers, leopards or snakes. Respect for man could have civilised brute technological and nuclear devices and would have made them serve man for his betterment and happiness. But the pity is that human beings are being led by their animal elements which should have been tamed and regulated into positive vitality needed for men to enable them to work hard, to discover, to examine, to subjugate the forces of Nature and to act as true vicegerents of God on earth. Blinded by their carnal lusts they abhor educative values of taming

the restive horses of instincts. While observing the universe, they could find balance everywhere. Without balance, this universe would have been a multiverse and could not have existed. Human beings appreciate balance in Nature, yet they do not deem it proper for themselves to keep balance. For them all balancing devices are taboos — religion included, which is the most effective educator of man in humaneness. They denounce moral values ; they reject religion. They flout social discipline and make themselves believe that they have attained "liberty" and are now at rest. They forget that they tried to live like human beings but failed in resisting the dominant animal element in their nature and hence succumbed to clay. They become real slaves but do not know they are slaves. This is the cruellest tragedy created and played by man. They have lost the centre of their gravity. The courses of instruction and laboratory experiments are of no avail.

مدرسہ عقل کو آزاد تو کرتا ہے مگر
چھوڑ جاتا ہے خیالات کو بے ربط و نظام[1]

[Institutions of learning give freedom of thought but
Leave all ideas in disorder and jeopardy.]

A pivotless life begins to look purposeless, and purposelessness is sheer boredom. Says Iqbal:

ما ز تخلیقِ مقاصد زندہ ایم   از شعاعِ آرزو تابندہ ایم[2]

[We live by forming ideals,
We glow with the sunbeams of desire !]

Boredom created by the sense of purposelessness

1. *Ḍarb-i Kalīm*, p. 81/543.

2. *Asrār-o Rumūz*, p. 17. English translation by R.A. Nichloson, *The Secrets of the Self*, p. 27.

makes no difference between the poor and the well-to-do. If life is an absurdity, then where lies the regard for society and its values ? This boredom also is a killer of social discipline. Here also the lettered and the unlettered are equal. Away from his own self nobody can be near to others. One's cognizance of one's own self is the first source of awareness. Through this cognizance one becomes capable of knowing others. Then commensurate with the depth of one's cognizance of others one's own person expands. And along with it one's goals and purposes become higher and nobler. Selfishness decreases accordingly. A person becomes one with others as says Sa'dī of Shīraz in his oft-quoted verse :

بنی آدم اعضائے یک دیگر اند   کہ در آفرینش ز یک جوہر اند

[Human beings are like limbs of one another,
Because the element from which they were created is one.]

The final stage is that of the cognizance of God. An eddy of dust-beams is linked up with a ray of the sun. Through that beaming ray of the sun that eddy of dust attains the awareness of its own spark. Do you want to know yourself ? asks Iqbal. If so, then there are three stages of the attainment of knowledge and they are not only the stages, they are rather witnesses to the fact of your existence also, your exalted existence.

زندۂ یا مردۂ یا جاں بلب   از سہ شاہد کن شہادت را طلب
شاہدِ اول شعورِ خویشتن   خویش را دیدن بنورِ خویشتن
شاہدِ ثانی شعورِ دیگرے   خویش را دیدن بنورِ دیگرے
شاہدِ ثالث شعورِ ذاتِ حق
خویش را دیدن بنورِ ذاتِ حق[3]

3. *Jāvid Nāmah*, p. 19/607.

[Are you in the state of life, death or death-in-life ?
Invoke the aid of three witnesses to verify your station.
The first witness is your own consciousness.
See yourself with your own light.
The second witness is the consciousness of another (ego).
Then see yourself with the light of an ego other than yours.
The third witness is God-consciousness.
See yourself then with God's light.]

In circumstances when even the literate, cultured and well-to-do elements of a society begin to regard life as meaningless and thus become deprived of the sense of self-respect, how can they, then, be expected to have any feeling of respect for others ? A human being, not aware of his own station and significance as a human being, can hardly be capable of attaching any value to any other human entity. Therefore a brother as a brother and a sister as a sister loses all import. If this be the attitude, then, to regard all human beings as members of one family or as components of one whole, is a far cry. Wherever and whenever life begins to look as a sheer absurdity, suicides increase, and when suicides increase, murders, robbery, kidnapping and assaulting women and all other "niceties" attendant upon it inevitably follow.

Sometimes proponents of Marxism try to advertise such nefarious exercises as the result of class distinction. Crime is classless. It is not always the poor who murder. It is not always the destitute who commit suicide. Tendencies for such commissions observe no colour, class and race distinction. A human being left to, or girating into, animality may indulge in any anti-social activity irrespective of the class to which he belongs. No doubt a resourceful criminal is much more dangerous than the one who is comparati-

vely resourceless. But the thing which really matters is not the extent of damage done. It is rather the tendency and intent to do damage. No doubt, opulence can furnish the criminal with such dangerous devices which a poor criminal simply cannot afford to employ. Yet the question still is not the extent of crime ; it is, on the other hand, the intent to commit crime. It means the root cause is animality of man. To whatever stratum of society he may belong, as long as his "savage" instincts are not tamed by true education, his animality must show up, now and then.

From amongst the literate we can easily find a good number of those who, in the conceit of their intellectual maturity, would laugh at the very idea of "morality," declaring moral principles akin to taboos. They pride in having liberated themselves from the captivity of conventionally overpowering "taboos". In reality, all curbs on their animal lust are termed by them as taboos. They do not understand in fact that they have not liberated themselves ; rather they have delivered themselves into the abyss of slavery of an untamed animality from which education in moral principles tries to extricate them. They refuse to be pulled out. Instead they surrender to the baser elements of their being under the cover of enlightenment. Says Iqbal :

مجھے تہذیبِ حاضر نے عطا کی ہے وہ آزادی
کہ ظاہر میں تو آزادی ہے، باطن میں گرفتاری ![4]

[The contemporary civilisation has granted me a liberty,
Which is liberty only in name ; in reality it is nothing but captivity.]

4. *Bāl-i Jibil*, p. 38/330.

In this verse Iqbal alludes neither to the political dominance of the West, nor does he refer to the political freedom. He alludes to this false sense of personal liberty which is in fact freedom from ethical and religious principles. It is rather freedom from every discipline that tries to keep man as man and does not allow him to stoop down to the moral of bipeds in the clutches of raw instincts. The contemporary Western civilisation in Iqbal's view has been a forceful cause of man's moral deterioration:

فسادِ قلب و نظر ہے فرنگ کی تہذیب
کہ روح اس مدنیت کی رہ سکی نہ عفیف!
رہے نہ روح میں پاکیزگی تو ہے ناپید
ضمیرِ پاک و خیالِ بلند و ذوقِ لطیف![5]

[Western culture ruins both heart and vision,
Because the soul of that culture is no longer chaste.
With a corrupted soul one cannot expect
To have a clean conscience, high thinking and refined tastes.]

For a human society such inhuman culture is like a rotten fruit which breeds many sorts of ailments. Ailments, if not prevented and cured properly in time, eventually result in death. This is what, in respect of contemporary West, Iqbal is afraid of. He exclaims:

خبر ملی ہے خدایانِ بحر و بر سے مجھے
فرنگ رہ گذرِ سیلِ بے پناہ میں ہے![6]

[Lords of oceans and of earth have communicated to me the tidings that
Europe is about to be swept away by an irresistible inundation.]

5. *Ḍarb-i Kalīm*, p. 71/533. 6. *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 69/361.

After all what ails those bipeds—hippies, these "abstract" ladies and gentlemen? Are not they on the run from their own selves? What else is the reason behind the mode of life adopted by them?

A great majority of these escapists is highly literate. Amongst them are the holders of high academic degrees, including doctorates in philosophy, psychology, literature, history, technology, engineering and what not. I have myself had the honour of conversing with these "enlightened abstractions" and have found them widely read and well-informed but absolutely uninformed about the meanings of life and about what education stands for. They are not the outcasts and have been driven away and given over to the four winds by the highbrows of their society. They are not pushed out of their homes and abodes by reasons of poverty. They are, I am sure, not being dragged out by the sex urge. They live in "free societies" where there are no tangibly compulsive sex restrictions. Then what after all has happened to these insignias of Western (America included) cultural elevations?

Surely they do not come to the East in search of soul-satisfaction. Western ravages have rendered the East impoverished in all respects. The spirit of the East itself is ailing. Hence the East has almost nothing to offer that can invigorate the soul. The hippies know it. Still they have flooded some Eastern regions wistfully. After all what are they after?

These escapist "abstractions" are after getting more and more away from their dark selves. They are in search of some "foreign aid" in the form of marijuana, opium and other intoxicants. A person

without conscious "self" is nothing but an imitative animal. This is why we find a kind of local hippies sprouting in pursuance of the foreign hippies. Our hippies have also put on an appearance like that of the aliens. They receive the aliens with open arms: sit with them for an exchange of *charas* puffs. This soul-satisfying smoky entertainment blackens their vision and slackens their vitality. This peace-giving exercise, by and by, turns their very existence into smoke. And then they end in smoke. Their learned enlightenment vanishes altogether. Do they live before they die? They are breathing dead bodies in truth. Says Iqbal:

کور ذوق و نیش را دانستہ نوش
مردۂ بے مرگ و نعشِ خود بدوش[7]

[He is a person who has lost all taste and who has taken poison for honey.
He is a dead body without death and carries his corpse on his shoulders.]

If we analyse properly, one thing becomes apparent. Hippies also have souls. Soul thirsts after proper satisfaction. The gratification of instincts is a thing quite different from the satisfaction of soul. The more the carnal demands are fulfilled, the more the soul is agitated and fretful. Whosoever is a slave of his passions can never feel comfortable because something within him resents and resents against this slavery. The Qur'ān explains:

الا بذکر اللہ تطمئن القلوب[8]

[In the remembrance of God hearts do find satisfaction.]

Without God's reference all awareness is unawareness or rather deviation. Iqbal addresses his audience

7. *Jāvid Nāmah*, p. 180/572.

8. xiii. 28.

and tells them that it is not the modern science or other branches of knowledge of which he is afraid. He says we must acquire knowledge but we should always remain wide awake lest the materialistic, anti-humanistic and soul-killing spirit of Western modes of learning should carry us off our feet. God-consciousness must be our resort, first and last :

کھلے ہیں سب کے لیے غریبوں کے میخانے
علومِ تازہ کی سرمستیاں گناہ نہیں
اسی سرور میں پوشیدہ موت بھی ہے تری
ترے بدن میں اگر سوزِ لا الٰہ نہیں ![9]

[Western learning is like a tavern open to all.
Drinks of modern knowledge are no sin,
But beware ! your death is hidden in this state of intoxication.
If the fire of belief in one God is not at work in your being.]

Acquiring knowledge is a sacred task. Iqbal maintains :

> The truth is that all search for knowledge is essentially a form of prayer. The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer.[10]

The misfortune is that man has forgotten that he possesses a soul which is now and then attracted towards its Origin and that Origin is the Light. Man has in him a particle of that Light but its glow remains hidden under the heavy curtains of mundane interests, materialistic attitude and Godless intellectual accomplishments. Yet that particle does not die out. Whenever it finds the burden of matter a bit light, it tries to show itself

9. *Ḍarb-i Kalim*, p. 178/640.
10. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 91.

up. This effort on the part of this Divine fragment makes man restless. Something from within pushes him onward and then pulls him upward. Man is not conscious of it and hence is in a state of excitement. To offer a crude example, we may say a person prepared himself to do some urgent task—and then all of a sudden forgot the task. The excitement is there, but it cannot speak. Memory has failed the man who knew what exactly he was after and could tell others as well before he lost sight of it. Now that forgetful person is in a strange mood, a mood which cannot be identified, neither melancholy nor happy. Nothing but restlessness. He does not know what to do, yet something he must do. He picks up a book and puts it down. He is not aware whether he opened it or not because it makes no difference. Then inadvertantly he switches on the radio and without listening to what it puts forth switches if off. Then he asks for tea. When his wife comes with a cup of tea he takes it thoughtlessly and then nonchalantly returns the cup to his wife saying it does not taste good. Now he threatens the children and his wife because there is always noise in the house. After a moment, perhaps, he begins to brush his costume of which he is not sure that he would wear that day. Then he may feel the shoe-laces too tight or perhaps too loose and begins to loosen or tighten them. He wants to have some fresh air although it may be icy cold. He opens the windows to shut them a moment later with a whimper: "Fools, it is so cold and they have left the windows open." And he shuts them angrily. For a moment he is worried about the excess of light and perhaps the next moment suffers from a sense of

deprivation from sufficient light in the room. Then he instantly feels the bedding too near the wall and tries to drag it away from the wall. Then God knows how but he does think of the sky and feels pained because it is almost always azure. This state of agitation means that his nerves are tense as they should have been in determining to do something of important nature, but the tension has lost the sense of direction. Intelligence is very much there, but it has only become confounded. The state of an excited soul within our bosoms is almost of the same mode. It feels attached to its Origin or to something relating to that, but neglectfulness takes hold of it. Its excitement cannot die out and the possessors are driven hither and thither, not knowing where to go. How aptly Iqbal remarks:

ہے ذوقِ تجلی بھی اسی خاک میں پنہاں
غافل! تو نرا صاحبِ ادراک نہیں ہے![11]

[A taste for Divine illumination is also hidden in this same clay (body);
It is not intellect only that you possess.]

The physical and spiritual framework of man is patterned in such a way that balance has to be maintained regarding its various demands. If this balance is disturbed, negative influences would start showing up. No doubt, such demands can attain sublimation, but sublimation and refinement of crude instinctive demands is not an easy job; hence not everybody's business. What is the percentage in this respect? Surely negligible. Similarly, if the demands of the spirit are not met, they find negative modes for their

11. *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 33/325.

fulfilment. Anyway, the Divine spark kept hidden behind heavy dark curtains of flesh has deprived man of spiritual elevation. And when the spiritual light became weak and inoperative, the body turned into a machine or a biological organism which means it became a heap of clay : a living person metamorphosed into a breathing dead body. About such a person, Iqbal's opinion is as under :

به آن مومن خدا کارے ندارد   که در تن جانِ بیدارے ندارد[12]

[God has nothing to do with a believer,
Who does not possess an efficient and conscious soul in his body.]

The remedy is that human beings should be made conscious of their selves. They should know that they are not made of matter only. The Qur'ān says :

خلقنا کم ثم صورنا کم[13]

[We created you and then We gave you shape.]

This means the essence of man's being is spiritual. All his moral faculties relate to his spirit—his will, his determination and his consciousness in respect of good and evil. T.H. Green raises the question, whether a being that was merely a result of natural forces could form a theory of those forces explaining himself. And then proceeding with this argument he explains that the Divine consciousness "reproduces itself" in man, using feeling and sensation to objectifying itself there. The reproduction takes place piecemeal and by degrees because its vehicle is a part of Nature. But though our knowledge is partial, it is nevertheless identical in essence with the eternal

12. *Armughān-i Ḥijāz*, p. 98/980.   13. vii. 11.

consciousness which it reproduces. And Green proceeds yet further saying that man alone of all natural creatures is a self, able to stand apart from the world and, by virtue of the fragment of divinity which is in him, subdue Nature and have dominion over it. In addition to understanding he has the capacity to will, and the world appears to him not merely for what it is but also for what it should be.[14]

How could man become capable of analysing Nature if he were nothing but a part of Nature? Only his body, i.e. the material side of his being, belongs to natural and material elements and hence obeys the laws of Nature. But his spiritual self stands apart and tries to subdue Nature and its compelling forces. Nature does not discover Nature. It only manifests itself to a being who carries something in him which can discover, understand, analyse, elaborate on it in laboratories and propounds theories, ideas, rules and laws. Should not that being then try hard to free itself from the domination of his material self as far as it may be profitably possible ? It is possible only if a link between the Divine spark within a man remains aglow and maintains its connection with its Origin which is "all illumination". The misfortune with contemporary European sciences and arts is that they have become one-sided. They are absorbed in subjugating natural forces more and more, but at the same time are turning their back upon the spiritual side of man. The result is that all the progress in the fields of sciences and arts, technology and philosophy, etc., has proved regression in respect of man's soul and hence is turning man into a beast. Beasts are

14. *Masterpieces of World Philosophy*, pp. 682-83.

becoming more and more heartless. There is no reference to God the Creator. Aptly says Iqbal:

از کلیمے سبق آموز کہ دانائے فرنگ
جگرِ بحر شگافید و بہ سینا نرسید[15]

[To Moses' lesson list;
For Europe's scientist
Though ocean's depth he plumb,
Could ne'er to Sinai come.]

In this verse Iqbal alludes to Moses (peace be upon him) who tore asunder the Red Sea and then reached the Vale of Sinai and had a direct Communion with God on the Mount. This indicates that strength is not the material strength only. Man is not a complete man without spiritual strength which contemporary European knowledge is neglecting callously. Similarly, in another verse Iqbal criticises the European matter-ridden enlightenment which is not resulting in the satisfaction of man's mind:

قدحِ خرد فروزے کہ فرنگ داد ما را
ہمہ آفتاب لیکن اثرِ سحر ندارد![16]

[Lo, the goblet mind-illumining
That the West hath given me,
All the sun's aglow within it,
Of the dawn no sign I see.]

It means man must look at the world anew. He must learn and unlearn a lot. He must examine his accomplishments in the real sense of the word. Are educational Diplomas and Degrees meant just to decorate the name of their holders? Do they certify that their holders are better persons than those who have not

15. *Zabūr-i 'Ajam*, p. 90/482. English translation by A. J. Arberry, *The Persian Psalms*, p. 83.

16. Ibid., p. 57/449. Arberry, p. 49.

been able to equal them in educational qualification? Man has yet to do a lot of self-analysis, which is an unending process. It is obvious, there can be no self-analysis without self-consciousness.

But how to attain that state of mind ? No window opens into the self. A learned man and experienced person is taken normally for an individual who knows something of the world he lives in, but who knows nothing of his own self. Iqbal disdains the system of instruction which does not inculcate self-conciousness and self-confidence in the student :

ازان از مکتبِ یاران گریزم   جوانے خود نگہ دارے ندارد[17]

[This is why I keep aloof from schools established by my comrades.
They do not have a single self-respecting youth.]

Self-conciousness, self-confidence and self-respect are the outcome of man's spiritual awakeness which is attainable only through firm faith in God. Exclaims Iqbal :

کافر ! دلِ آوارہ دگر بارہ باو بند   بر خویش کشادیدہ و از غیر فرو بند
دیدن دگر آموز و ندیدن دگر آموز ![18]

[Faithless ! thy heart astray once more upon Him bind :
Break from all else away, nor unto self be blind ;
Learn with thy eyes to view, and how to close them, too.]

One should find out time to be closeted with one's own self. Self-seeing is the first reliable step towards the observation of the world, for the view of a self-conscious man is neither merely cursive nor is it imitative. His observations and opinions are his own and he accepts the responsibility for his thoughts and

17. *Armughān-i Ḥijāz*, p. 98/980.
18. *Zabūr-i 'Ajam*, p. 79/471. Arberry, p. 71.

deeds with courage. New vistas of study open before such a person and every object seems to be revealing its mind to him in a vocal gesture. Iqbal stresses the point in the following verse :

دیکھے تو زمانے کو اگر اپنی نظر سے
افلاک منور ہوں ترے نورِ سحر سے ![19]

[If you study this world of space and time with your own eyes,
You will find heavens illumined by the light of your vision.]

Acquisition of knowledge opens up pathways to monetary gains in many shapes. Right. But it should not be the sole purpose of acquiring knowledge. Ḥājī Khalīfah, the author of *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, writes :

فالعلوم ليس الغرض منها الاكتساب بل الاطلاع على الحقائق و تهذيب الاخلاق ۔[20]

[To earn money is not the purpose of knowledge. Its purpose is acquaintance with truths and refinement of manners.]

Teachers and educators never neglected the character of their pupils. They carefully tried to build them into real human beings. There is a saying attributed to the renowned saint Ḥasan of Basrah which makes manifest the significance of those who possess knowledge. His celebrated words are :

لو لا العلماء لصار الناس مثل البهائم

[Had there been no men of learning, people would have become like animals.]

This saying of Ḥasan implies that learning and

19. *Ḍarb-i Kalim*, p. 122/584.
20. *Al-Tarbiyat Wa'l-Ta'līm Fi al-Islām*, p. 144.

culture were not two separate endownments. A learned man stood for a cultured man whose exhilarating example inspired others and people looked towards him for standards of gentlemanly behaviour. They were conscious people. They knew they had a following for whose character-building they were responsible to society as well as to God. They were aware of the fact that human beings at large were just imitative animals. Therefore those persons lived responsibly. They were careful in their manners and actions lest they should set bad examples for others to emulate. They believed they were accountable to God for having set good or bad example according to their station in society. At the family level it was the responsibility of parents to prove good guides to their children in respect of manners and morals. After parents, elder brothers and sisters were to act responsibly for the sake of their own selves as well as for the sake of their younger brothers and sisters. Home had to be treated as the primary centre where education in character and manners was imparted.

The particular ethical structure of Muslim nations remained intact on account of their men of learning who generally were embodiments of goodness. Muslims never looked to their kings and rulers for moral standards. And it is obvious the kings were not visible to the vast majority of their people. Whether they were good or bad, their practical example seldom reached the populace. There were no newspapers carrying the multiposed photographs of their rulers. They had no television. They had their guides in the shape of scholars, teachers, preceptors, sufis and dervishes.

These people were scattered in the whole expanse of the Muslim world, forming pockets of cultured individuals, here and there. The truth is that the ethical structure of Muslim societies was preserved for more than a thousand years by their men of learning who were usually men of morals as well. Every great sufi or dervish was accomplished with almost the best education available. Almost every one of them felt he had a mission. Wherever they went they taught. And they taught to turn persons into better human beings, hence better in serving their society. The teachers and sufis followed the most illustrious example of the Holy Prophet who, according to the word of God, was the teacher as well as the spiritual guide.

No doubt, therefore, that the Muslims had always shown more respect to men of learning, their teachers and guides than to their kings and rulers. They had to forbear the kings and rulers because they were inevitable. Without an administrative machinery no society can stand. But to render help in maintaining an administration is one thing and to have devotion for the rulers or the heads of administration is quite another. Ḥaḍrat 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib is supposed to have said that we cannot do without government. It may be good. It may be bad. Without a government it is all anarchy, and anarchy is worse than massacre.

The proof that the Muslim *Ummah* (nation) preferred their sages, teachers and saints to kings and rulers lies in the fact that whenever a king or a governor went to some dervish and paid homage to him it added to his popularity. On the contrary, whenever some man of learning, a sage or a saint began

to attend the court of kings or governors, his prestige and popularity decreased and alongwith the aversion for courtly pomp and show the dislike for the sage or sages concerned increased. To serve a king or be a functionary in administrative set-up does not mean necessarily love for or devotion to the king or ruler himself. Muslims did love their rulers, but they were only those rulers who were just, brave, generous, efficient in the conduct of administration and yet were polite to and humble for the humble and the poor and, moreover, were easily accessible. It is quite obvious, the servants went to the courts and offices, while the devotees went to the abodes of sages, teachers and preceptors. Thousands of government servants including those who had high ranks served the kings but loved the dervishes and men of learning.

Alongwith sufis and sages who taught and imparted education there were others who were celebrated men of letters in their own social circles. They earned their living as traders, farmers, artisans, soldiers, etc., yet in spare moments they imparted instruction in their subjects of interest to those who desired. They taught gratis. It had become a sort of tradition that fathers who could teach taught their children to whatever standard it was possible for them to do and hence fathers were teachers too. In a way the houses of the learned were a kind of educational institutions. Pupils had nothing to pay to such teachers. Teachers did so because they thought they were in duty bound to teach the sons of the *Ummah* (Muslim nation). Has not the Holy Prophet enjoined upon Muslims to attain knowledge and impart it ? Whether they taught or learned, it was done in a spirit of duty

done to the *Ummah* and to God as though all time spent in teaching and learning was spent in worship.

Dr Ṭalas relates that when Niẓām al-Mulk, the celebrated Grand Wazir of the Seljuks, established the famous university al-Niẓāmiyyah in Baghdad and appointed wholetime salaried teachers and scholars to teach, men of learning and scholarship in Khurasan held meetings of condolence on the sad demise of learning. They mourned because the sanctity of learning had been outraged. They declared that teaching had been the undertaking of large-hearted, high-minded and virtuous people who taught with the aim of attaining God's grace and for the purpose of spreading virtue, whereas the people who would become salaried teachers would be mindful of their salaries only. For such people teaching would be a source of earning instead of a pious undertaking. It was feared that mean and greedy persons with monetary gain as their sole aim would come forward to take up this assignment.[21]

For Muslim scholars, teaching was a vocation and not a profession. This vocation demanded purity of mind and soul, resignation, sympathy, highmindedness and magnanimity. Anyway, in Muslim lands, Muslim salaried teachers went on teaching people in spare hours free of any charge till the end of the nineteenth century or till the first quarter of the twentieth century. No doubt in the contemporary world the patterns and requirements of knowledge have undergone a lot of change. Education has become highly complicated. Big and well-equipped laboratories are inevitable, yet the truth is that at the

21. Ibid., p. 126.

preliminary stage of education and then in many subjects—in arts, sociology, jurisprudence, theology, etc.—elders who are equipped with necessary knowlodge could have done so if only they had felt that to teach is a religious duty. In this way elder members of a society can still remain in touch with the younger ones and thus the gap between the seniors and the juniors can be narrowed. Sometimes cries are raised over "generation gap". If elders make a bit of sacrifice and teach their own children themselves or spare a few moments to talk to the younger members of their society who are anxious to learn from them, they will render a great service to the society. It is a laudable step towards the integration of society. Dewey says : "The individual thinker should be taken as a reconstruction center of a society."[22]

These thinkers should become voluntary teachers too to make others also think and prepare them to act in a gentlemanly way. It is not the books that turn a biological organism into a human being ; it is in reality the men who do so, men who are not only literate but are educated as well. Iqbal says :

ادب ، پیرایۂ نادان و داناست
خوش آن کو از ادب خود را بیار است
ندارم آن مسلمان زاده را دوست
کہ در دانش فزود و در ادب کاست ![23]

[Mannerliness is a must for the illiterate as well as the literate.
Dear is he who adorns himself with good manners.
I have no love lost for that son of a Muslim
Who expands in knowledge and shrinks in manners.]

22. *Man—Self and Society*, Introduction, p. xxv.
23. *Armughān-i Ḥijāz*, p. 99/981.

In short, the tragedy of the modern world can be summed up in its vast learning arising out of its principles of observation and discovery, but without any sympathy and understanding of the needs of human beings. Today man has been deprived of humaneness and fragmentation of society has become the order of the day. The same individual who can scale the heights of intellect may have a morally degraded soul. No one can be termed sincere, honest, and dependable despite his vast learning and academic excellence. So long as the soul remains impure, man can have no clear social dealings. This dichotomy between knowledge and social behaviour and the conflict between one's belief and actions has been the major cause of man's degradation. The situation as it persists is an indication of the disintegration of human personality. Only firm faith in the unity of God can salvage it and only then stable individuals, who are devoid of duality in their words and deeds, will come into being. We, in all humility, must re-establish our link with God and tread the path of the Holy Prophet, if we sincerely desire to come out of the present impasse.

6

IQBAL ON FINALITY OF PROPHETHOOD

No circle can have more than one centre. The universe, in ontological sense, is one circle. It also cannot have more than one centre. Without one God as the controlling centre there can be no harmony in the universe and similarly in man. Man cannot evolve into perfect unity without his belief in one God because only according to the law and purpose of God can man shape his own behaviour and hence destiny. I feel constrained to quote William Temple who fully supports me on this subject. He says:

> Life cannot be fully integrated about the self as centre: it can only be fully integrated when it becomes God-centred. For God is the real centre of the real world. His purpose is its controlling principle; only in Him, therefore, can all creatures find a centre which brings them all in harmony with one another and with themselves.[1]

That is all right. God is one. His purpose is the highest controlling principle. Iqbal is quite in agreement in this respect with several Western theists. But the difference arises when the practical shape of man's harmony with others and with his own self becomes the focus of discussion. Is God's purpose tangibly explained in the best manner by any one human being? For Iqbal the reply is yes and he is fully convinced that the last Prophet of God, Muḥammad

1. *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 328.

(S.A.S.), is the tangible explanation that God's purpose can be served by following His laws and living according to His principles. God's men as Prophets, in every age and, according to the Qur'ān, in every nationality, preached His message and practised as they preached. In the person of Muḥammad (S.A.S.) Prophecy attained perfection and perfection meant the end of the process. Prophecy kept evolving and, according to Iqbal, all Prophets were Muḥammad (S.A.S.) in the making.[2] And in a verse he explains this same idea thus :

شعلہ ہائے او صد ابراہیم سوخت تا چراغِ یک محمد بر فروخت[3]

[Its flames burnt a hundred Abrahams
That the lamp of one Muhammad might be lighted.]

Quite obvious. For Iqbal there cannot be two Muḥammads. If God is one and also His law is one, then there cannot be different codes of moral behaviour for different nations. In Iqbal's words perfection of Prophecy meant the end of prophetic process. Iqbal says : "In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition."[4]

Given one perfect code now man can be left free to make his own choice, whether he accepts or rejects what the Qur'ān offered and what the Holy Prophet preached and practised. This, in Iqbal's opinion, was essential for the unification of all human beings. If God be the centre of the universe, then Muḥammad

2. Sayyid Nazir Niyazi, *Iqbāl Ke Ḥuḍūr*.

3. *Asrār-o Rumūz*, p. 13, Eng. trans, by R.A. Nicholson. *The Secrets of the Self*, p. 18.

4. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 126.

(S.A.S.) is to be the centre of the world of man. It is inevitable. There cannot be more than one centre for the world of man too.

This is one of the greatest boons of God to man because this gives one and only one source of perfect and standard morality to be followed and imbibed by all humanity so that they become one brotherhood with common behaviour and common outlook on life. Islam, being the last religion, is the spiritual rallying point for humanity. Islam as such has the capacity to stand for a fatherland as well as family in the eyes of a Muslim. Thus humanity may get rid of racial, territorial, and colour prejudices which serve as perpetual prompters towards man-killings and other manifold collective outrages perpetrated by man against man.

More prophets meant that prophecy had not attained perfection in Muḥammad (S.A.S.) and as such more prophets could still come, adding more religious communities to those already existent. The Qur'ān very clearly and in unequivocal terms declares that the religion (*al-Islām*) had been perfected :

اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم و اتممت عليكم نعمتي و رضيت لكم الاسلام دينا ـ[5]

[This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you and have chosen for you as religion *al-Islām*]

The Qur'ān stresses that the books revealed to Moses and Christ contained clear information about the coming of the last Prophet alongwith his name, but religious leaders distorted the relevant portions.

5. v. 3.

According to the Qur'ān, the distortion was done purposely. Had they not done so, the "People of the Book" would have diligently accepted Islam as preached by the last Prophet and there would have been one great religion at least of the great majority of mankind. Iqbal says :

لا نبی بعدی ز احسانِ خداست   پردۂ ناموسِ دینِ مصطفیٰ است
قوم را سرمایہٗ قوت ازو   حفظِ سرِ وحدتِ اُمت ازو
حق تعالیٰ نقش ہر دعویٰ شکست   تا ابد اسلام را شیرازه بست[6]

[*No Prophet after me* is of God's grace,
And veils the modest beauty of the Faith
Muhammad brought to men. The people's strength
All rests in this, that still the secret guards
Of how the Faith's Community is one,
Almighty God has shattered every shape
Carved by imposture, and for evermore
Stitched up the sacred volume of Islam.]

Similar is the sense conveyed by the following verses :

پس خدا بر ما شریعت ختم کرد   بر رسولِ ما رسالت ختم کرد
رونق از ما محفلِ ایام را   او رسل را ختم و ما اقوام را[7]

[God set the seal of holy Law on us,
As in our Prophet all Apostleship
Is sealed. The concourse of ending days
Is radiant in our lustre ; he was Seal
To all Apostles, to all Peoples we.]

The verse, "This day have I perfected your religion for you . . ." was revealed to the Holy Prophet when He performed the Farewell Pilgrimage.

6. *Asrār-o Rumūz*, p. 102. Eng. trans. by A.J. Arberry, *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, p. 21.

7. Ibid.Arberry, pp. 20-21.

On that occasion the Prophet addresssd his Companions whose number, as given by almost all historians of Islam, exceeded one hundred thousand. Here are the opening sentences of that address:

O men, listen to my words. I do not know whether I shall ever meet you in this place again after this year. Your blood and your property are sacrosanct until you meet your Lord, as this day and this month are holy. You will surely meet your Lord and He will ask you of your works.[8]

"O men" is the translation of *Ayyuhan-nās*, which means mankind, including women. The significance of the opening sentence is that the Prophet did not address his Companions as "O Muslims" or "O Arabs" or "O Companions". He was the last Prophet and for all mankind, for all time ; therefore he could not address his followers as Arabs or Companions, because what he said was for all human beings. He did not limit his message even to Muslims, although it was clear that a Muslim means one who surrenders to God. As such a Muslim could not be taken for any racial or territorial entity, yet he called to attention all mankind and very rightly so because He preached the equality of all human beings as one large brotherhood. It was not the life and property of Muslims only that was sacrosanct till the Last Day; it was the life and property of all beings belonging to all peoples inhabiting any territory in the world of God. This was the most important lesson to be taught to all men and women to make them behave as human beings and treat others as such because, according to the Qur'ān as stated above, all humanity

8. A. Guillaume, Tr. (Isḥāq's *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*), *The Life of Muḥammad*, p. 651.

was created through one breath of life. If God was one, His worshippers had to be one. We have got one other golden lesson from the words quoted above : every person is responsible for his deeds and is accountable to God for them. There is no notion of "Original Sin" in Islam. Similarly, the idea of being chosen people can never be accommodated in the framework of Islamic values. As is obvious, Islamic values are not material values. They are spiritual. Therefore the stress is on deeds, works and performances, there being no consideration of race or lineage, colour or language, and material preferences and differences.

Iqbal's age was the age of matter. No amount of knowledge could make the "developed" nations soar higher than matter. Their outlook remained matter-bound and hence earth-rooted. One blood-sucking result of this matter-worship was crass nationalism, based, no doubt, on colour, race and geography. This callous outlook brought havoc upon human beings. Iqbal criticised the idea of Western nationalism in the bitterest terms because that idea demolished the very basis of humanism. He had seen European nations' callous attitude even towards one another. They could be friendly towards one another only for self-interest. And the collective attitude of the Western peoples towards the Easterns was horribly cruel, because the latter were not white. After World War I, the victorious Western nations established an international body called the "League of Nations". Iqbal attacked that body vehemently. For him the League of Nations was nothing but an assembly where victors of World War I sat for consultations

in respect of the division of occupied territories, where ruthless massacre of the inhabitants had taken place and inestimable loss of property had occurred. This is why he said :

من ازیں بیش ندانم کہ کفن دزدے چند
بہرِ تقسیمِ قبور انجمنے ساختہ اند[9]

[All I know about it is
That a few thieves of grave- clothes have set up
A body for dividing the world's graves.]

European nations had taken the role of ruthless masters towards the subjugated peoples of Asia and Africa reducing them to the deplorable status of "suffering servants". And the tragedy is that the victorious nations could not be temperamentally sincere and charitable even to each other. How could they be ? Materialism and stark narrow-minded nationalism had eaten into their conscience. They were by nature covetous and suspicious. They tried to maintain a balance of terror inwardly and a show of polite regard to one another outwardly. But for how long can the "inner" be prevented from becoming the "outer" ? The result was the destruction of the League of Nations at the very hands that built it. That is a sad story—sad for those who are well-meaning. On the contrary, a criminal who is brought up in an atmosphere of crime cannot feel sorry over a crime he commits. For him it is just a routine and does not call for any remorse. So was the case of victorious nations with their headquarters at Geneva.

9. *Payām-i Mashriq*, p. 193/363. English transl. by M. Hadi Hussain, *A Message from the East*, p. 160.

Iqbal did not agree with the idea of "nations" being brought together. For him the need was a forum where ordinary as well as extraordinary human individuals from all races and climes gathered to know one another, to feel near to one another's heart. He was convinced that it was the sanctuary of the Ka'bah at Mecca. It was not the big diplomats of big nations who met one another there with sinister designs against "unfriendly" and even "friendly" nations, where the leaders did not rub shoulders with one another to conspire against weaker segments of mankind, and where they did not sit together to chalk out dishonest political schemes neglecting all agreements and promises. Mecca, in Iqbal's opinion, was the only forum where all cadres of mankind could feel and behave as belonging to one brotherhood. At Mecca it is the worship of one God and the performance of other sacred duties equally binding on all, big or small, clad in one unsewn white cloth covering the body from shoulders to the ankels, with heads shaven, and invocations of God's grace and forgiveness on lips which make them all feel equal and make them all see equally humble. Here they gather with love and for love. Here they come to seek God's forgiveness for what they might have done, knowingly or unknowingly, and also here they pray for better moral life and stronger will to be good and to do good. Iqbal says:

اس دور میں اقوام کی صحبت بھی ہوئی عام
پوشیدہ نگاہوں سے رہی وحدتِ آدم
تفریقِ ملل حکمتِ افرنگ کا مقصود
اسلام کا مقصود فقط ملتِ آدم !

مکے نے دیا خاکِ جنیوا کو یہ پیغام
جمعیتِ اقوام کہ جمعیتِ آدم؟[10]

[The contemporary era has brought nations near to each other,
But unity of all mankind is not the purpose.
Western dipolmacy aims at disrupting the unity of every community,
Whereas the sole aim of Islam is the unity of all human beings.
The message of Mecca for Geneva is :
"Should nations be organised or the whole mankind be galvanised into one entity ?"]

Thus for Iqbal the revival of Islamic values meant the revival of a feeling and with perfect sincerity, that one individual is spiritually related to all individuals to whatever nation they belong. The respect of man for man has been and is to be the most benign lesson for humanity. This is the core of all teachings revealed to the Prophets of God and the essence of the preachings of al-Islam, in which all Divine lessons become perfect and are merged.

Whosoever has read the life of the Holy Prophet (S.A.S.) knows that his truthfulness and trustworthiness was admitted and borne out by all who had known him. And the fact is that even after Muḥammad's (S.A.S.) pronouncement that he had been raised to Prophecy, the pagan Arabs as well as the idolaters did not dare say : He told a lie. How could they ? They had themselves entitled him as *al-Amīn* (the truthful and trustworthy). Therefore the most prominent trait of every Muslim must be truthfulness and trustworthiness. This trait includes and

10. *Ḍarb-i Kalīm*, pp. 57-58/519-20.

encompasses all phases and shades of honesty and integrity. This is the basis of all morals for all human societies which really want to behave as really human. Truthfulness for all and honesty in respect of all, not to a particular family, tribe, nationality or a nation, and similarly not for followers of a particular religion. As human beings, all are equal. Hence morality is for all and for the benefit of all.

One of the most celebrated sayings of the Prophet (S.A.S.) is :

لا ايمان لمن لا أمانة له، و لا دين لمن لا عهد له[11]

[He who does not possess integrity has no faith (in God), and he who does not keep promise, no religion (*al-Dīn*).]

This shows that for one who believes in God and the Prophethood of Muḥammad (S.A.S.) trustworthiness is to be the pivot of all his behaviour and performance. One is the condition for the existence of the other.

Now *Amānat*, i.e. truthfulness, trustworthiness, honesty, integrity and straightforwardness, has to govern intentions and actions of all individuals in all capacities and categories. *Amānat* is an extremely comprehensive term.

We generally take *Amānat* in a very narrow sense, i.e. returning to the owner whatever he deposited with someone. But in reality a believer is a trustee of God in all respects imaginable. All his mental, physical, material and spiritual powers are God's trust, hence are to be put to use according to God's commandments. Man's bodily strength and strong material position are not to be misused. Wealth and

11. *Jāmi' al-Fawā'id*, I, 456.

and all sorts of belongings do not really belong to man. They are all God's trust. They are to be spent by the trustee on his own self and on others according to the express directions of God contained in the *Sharī'ah*. *Amānat* has to govern the means of one's earnings as well. No unfair means are admissible. Unrightful ownership, cheating in matters of trade, usury, exploitation, stocking of foodgrains, bribery, etc., are strictly prohibited.

No well-to-do person gives anything to anybody who is in need as a benefactor. The needy, according to the Qur'ān, have the right to obtain their necessaries from those who are affluent. One's children, wife and other members of the household are also a sort of trust. Their upkeep in the best possible manner is the responsibility of the head of the family. It is not only the material well-being which is aimed at. It relates to behavioural as well as mental upbringing in the best manner possible. The elders of a family will be held responsible if they do not set good personal examples before their youngers. The elders are accountable to God for the part played by their negligence in respect of wrong actions and thoughts of those who look to them for standards. A teacher is also a trustee who has to teach and guide his wards, not only in the sphere of prescribed courses, but through his example to inspire his wards to be dutiful, hardworking, honest, steadfast, well-meaning and seekers of good. Similarly, every administrator, in whatever capacity, is a trustee of God within the limits of his authority. He has to be up and doing. He has to do justice even if it goes against his nearest relatives, if they be

the wrongdoers. There is no white justice for the Whites and black justice for the Blacks and coloured justice for the Coloured. Justice is one for all, be they the rulers or the ruled. Justice, charity, education, preservation of life and property is for all, not for a certain privileged class, clan or nationality. Principles of Islam are for all human beings. No race, no colour. If God is one, man also is one.

Then the requirement of *Amānat* (truthfulness and trustworthiness) is that he who is really a man of integrity has to stand fast on the side of truth and righteousness. He has to promote positive attitudes in his society and to defend them with all the strength and influence at his disposal. And whatever he does, he does for the sake of God, to seek His pleasure and not for self-aggrandizement or for some other ulterior motive.

Then for being steadfast on the side of righteousness, a believer imperatively has to be strong, strong in determination, strong in equipment and other things related to warfare. This is why the Holy Prophet had proclaimed:

المومن القوی خیر و احب الی اللہ من المومن الضعیف[12]

[God prefers the strong believer to the weak and loves him more than the latter.]

The Holy Qur'ān also has enjoined upon Muslims to be and feel always in a state of readiness for war with as best fighting machinery at their disposal as possible on the side of truth:

12. Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī, *Akhlāquna al-Ijtimā'iyyah*, p. 6.

و اعدوا لهم ما استطعتم من قوة و من رباط الخيل ترهبون به عدو الله
وعدوكم و آخرين من دونهم ج لا تعلمونهم ج الله يعلمهم[13]

[Make ready for them all you can of armed force and of horses tethered, that thereby you may dismay (or terrify) the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others beside them whom you know not. Allah knows them.]

It is in the nature of evil that it cannot tolerate good. Between evil and good the strife is perpetual. We find in the Qur'ān that when God's Prophet Lot admonished the members of his clan who indulged in unnatural sexual acts, they in reply raised voices against him and all those who supported him and said that they be ousted from the settlement for being upholders of purity and chastity. This is how the Qur'ān tells us :

و ما كان جواب قومه الا ان قالوا اخرجوهم من قريتكم ج انهم اناس
يتطهرون[14]

[And the answer of his (Lot's) people was only that they said (one to another) : Turn them out of your township. They are folk, forsooth, who keep pure.]

The sin was that Lot and his followers kept pure, hence had lost their credit with wrongdoers. This is how the unbelievers and all wrongdoers become the enemies of God. They rebel against the commandments of God and act contrary to His law. And this is why they hate and oppose those who follow the law of God.

But believers are ordained to remain within the limits prescribed by God. They are not allowed to transgress God's Limits :

13. viii. 60. 14. vii. 82.

و من يتعد حدود الله فاولئک هم الظلمون[15]

[For who transgress Allah's Limits, such are transgressors.]

This is how a believer in God has been directed to keep balance. He has to be vigilant, determined and prepared for any eventuality but is not allowed to loose balance and hence is warned that if he crossed the l'mits prescribed by God he will be doing wrong, the implication being the sufferance of punishment of a wrongdoer. All this requires the observance of a strict discipline. And that discipline is to live according to God's commandments and prohibitions. To inculcate this discipline in one's self is not difficult as it conforms to the real nature of man, which in turn corresponds to general principles of Nature at work in the universe. The strength of the universe lies in discipline which is, in other words, balance and harmony. Similarly, the strength and growth of real humanity needs this.

Iqbal's idea of balance or harmony is no other than that of compulsion accepted by the component parts of an organic whole. Take the example of music: it is only the discordant sounds compelled to harmonise; it is to this compulsion that music owes its strength and its magic power. Again, what is Taj Mahal, the exquisite poetry in marble, one of the greatest wonders of the world? It is only the building material of different kinds compelled to obey some law without which raw material could never have created such an awe in the hearts of the onlookers. What is an army? It is only a horde of individuals compelled to organise themselves and

15. ii. 229.

observe discipline, wherein lies its power to conquer and defend. Without a self-imposed discipline and compulsion the army is merely a lawless mob. The whole idea has been beautifully expressed by Iqbal in a number of verses such as the following:

برگِ گل شد چوں بآئیں بستہ شد   گل ز آئیں بستہ شد گلدستہ شد !
نغمہ از ضبطِ نوا پیداستے   ضبط چوں رفت از صدا غوغاستے
در گلوے ما نفس موجِ ہواست
چوں ہوا پابندِ نے گردد نواست[16]

["... A rose is born
When its component petals are conjoined
By Law ; and ro es, being likewise bound
By Law together, fashion a bouquet.
As sound controlled creates a melody
So, when control is absent, dissonance
Results. The breath we draw within our throat
Is but a wave of air which, in the reed
Being constructed, blows a tuneful note.]

"The Qur'an claims that the message which the ancient prophets brough to mankind at different stages of its history was meant to give concrete shape to the general Law, which God wished humanity to follow. In Islam this concreteness of law has assumed a final shape and therefore Iqbal recommended that an individual should surrender himself, of his own sweet will, to this law."[17] Iqbal stresses this point as follows:

در اطاعت کوش اے غفلت شعار   می شود از جبر پیدا اختیار
ناکس از فرماں پذیری کس شود   آتش ار باشد، زطغیاں خس شود[18]

16. *Asrār-o Rumūz*, p. 121. Arberry, p. 37.
17. B.A. Dar, *A Study in Iqbal's Philosophy*, p. 164.
18. *Asrār-o Rumūz*, p. 41. Nicholson, p. 73.

[Endeavour to obey, O heedless one !
Liberty is the fruit of compulsion.
By obedience the man of no worth is made worthy ;
By disobedience his fire is turned to ashes.]

شکوہ سنج سختیٔ آئیں مشو از حدودِ مصطفیٰ بیروں مرو[19]

[Do not complain of the hardness of the Law,
Do not transgress the statutes of Muhammad.]

This message is for all mankind. According to Iqbal, only through the observance of Islamic principles the *homo-sapiens* can become real and genuine human beings fit to serve as God's vicegerents on earth with attributes of God reflected in their overall behavour. And this is how he has explained :

گوہرِ دریائے قرآں سفتہ ام شرحِ رمزِ صبغۃ اللہ گفتہ ام[20]

[I have threaded the rubies of the Qur'ān's river,
And have explained the point contained in the Quranic verse "The colour of God".]

This verse relates to God's words as follows :

صبغۃ اللہ ج و من احسن من اللہ صبغۃ و نحن لہٗ عبدون[21]

[(We take our) colour from Allah, and who is better than Allah at colouring ? We are His worshippers.]

Man, to become man in the true sense of the word, has to imbibe habits and attributes of God and, unless he understands this reality, he remains a *homo-sapiens* who, in spite of qualities and elements of man in him, lives on the level of instincts only, and can, as per his will, surpass the cruellest of animals in cruelty and the meanest of creatures in mean-

19 Ibid., p. 41. Nicholson, p. 75.
20. *Musāfir* (*Pas Chih Bāyad Kard*)), p. 86/882.
21. ii. 138.

ness. The man of modern era equipped as he is with the deadliest devices of destruction is in much more need of knowing and respecting human values as ordained by God than his ancestors were.

Here at the end is laid down the New-Year Day message issued by Iqbal through the All-India Radio on 1 January 1938. This message epitomises what Iqbal thought of man's development in respect of science and other fields of knowledge without due deference to human values. Similarly, it contains his views on all sorts of "isms" of his day and cruelties perpetrated in their name, the cure being man's respect for man :

The modern age prides itself on its progress in knowledge and its matchless scientific developments. No doubt the pride is justified. To-day space and time are being annihilated and man is achieving amazing successes in unveiling the secrets of nature and harnessing its forces to his own service. But in spite of all those developments, tyranny of imperialism struts abroad, covering its face in the masks of Democracy, Nationalism, Communism, Fascism and heaven knows what else besides. Under these masks, in every corner of the earth, the spirit of freedom and dignity of man are being trampled underfoot in a way of which not even the darkest period of human history presents a parallel. The so-called statesmen to whom governments and leadership of men was entrusted have proved demons of bloodshed, tyranny and oppression. The rulers whose duty it was to protect and cherish those ideals which go to form a higher humanity, to prevent man's oppression of man and to elevate the moral and intellectual level of mankind, have, in their hunger for dominion and imperial possessions, shed the blood of millions and reduced millions to servitude simply in order to pander to the greed and avarice of their own particular groups. After subjugating and establishing their dominion over weaker peoples, they have robbed them of their religions, their morals, of their cultural traditions

and literatures. Then they sowed divisions among them that they should shed one another's blood and go to sleep under the opiate of serfdom, so that the leech of imperialism might go on sucking their blood without interruption.

As I look back on the year that has passed and as I look at the world in the midst of the New Year's rejoicings, it may be Abyssinia or Palestine, Spain or China, the same misery prevails in every corner of man's earthly home and hundreds of thousands of men are being butchered mercilessly. Engines of destruction operated by science are wiping out the great landmarks of man's cultural achievements. The Governments which are not themselves engaged in this drama of fire and flood are sucking the blood of the weaker peoples economically. It is as if the day of doom had come upon earth, in which each man looks after the safety of his own skin, and in which no voice of human sympathy and of fellowship is audible.

The world's thinkers are stricken dumb. Is this going to be the end of this progress and evolution of civilisation ? they ask. That men should destroy one another in mutual hatred and make human habitation impossible on this earth ? Remember, man can be maintained on this earth only by honouring mankind, and this world will remain a battleground of ferocious beasts of prey unless and until the educational forces of the whole world are directed to inculcating in man respect for mankind. Do you not see that the people of Spain, though they have the same common bond of one race, one nationality, one language and one religion, are cutting one another's throats and are destroying their culture and civilisation by their own hands owing to a difference in their economic creed ? This one event shows clearly that national unity too is not a very durable force. Only one unity is dependable, and that unity is the brotherhood of man, which is above race, nationality, colour or language. So long as the so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world is the family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be able to lead a happy and contended life and the beautiful ideals of

liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise.

Let us therefore begin the New Year with the prayer that God Almighty may grant humanity to those who are in places of power and government and teach them to cherish mankind.[22]

22. Quoted in Latif Ahmed Sherwani, Ed., *Speeches Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, pp. 249-51.

7

IQBAL ON KNOWLEDGE VIS-A-VIS EDUCATION

Once Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā' of Delhi was conversing with his pupils and friends. The topic he dealt with was the nobility of moral character. In this regard he related the following anecdote :

Abū 'Alī Sīnā met Shaikh Abū Sa'īd Abū al-Khair. While leaving. he requested a dervish, who was one of the associates of Shaikh Abū Sa'īd to inform him about the Shaikh's opinion regarding him. . . . Abū 'Alī left, but the Shaikh made no mention of him. Therefore his opinion regarding Abū 'Alī Sīnā could not be known. One day the dervish concerned asked the Shaikh about Abū 'Alī Sīnā whether he liked him. The Shaikh said : "Abū 'Alī Sīnā is a philosopher, a physician and a great scholar, but he does not possess nobility of character." The dervish informed Abū 'Alī Sīnā accordingly. Abū 'Alī wrote a letter to the Shaikh which, among other things, contained a reference to his opinion of him. He wanted to know the why of it, explaining that he had written so many books on the nobility of character. The Shaikh read the letter, smiled and said : "I did not say that Abū 'Alī Sīnā had no knowledge of the nobility of moral character. I had only stated that he did not possess the nobility of moral character."[1]

Abū 'Alī Sīnā was no doubt aware of what moral character meant. But knowledge is something quite different from practical action. Goodness, good-will, sacrifice, determination, steadfastness and kindliness are the qualities about which a man may know a lot,

1. *Fawā'id al-Fuwād*, pp. 321-22.

but as long as they are merely a property of intellect and not a property of soul, they are, in fact, of no palpable use to him. No reform takes place in him and vistas of well-being do not open before him.

Clearly, knowledge does not mean education. The Holy Prophet said :

العلم علمان ، فعلم فى القلب فذلک العلم النافع و علم على اللسان
فذلک حجة الله على ابن آدم[2]

[Knowledge is of two kinds : one that belongs to the heart and is useful ; the other that belongs to the tongue and is God's argument against man.]

It is obvious that the first kind of knowledge affects man's behaviour and brings about a positive change in him, while the other is only verbal which does nothing except serving as an evidence against the man concerned. Man has the knowledge of good and evil, yet he does not try to reform himself. It means acquiring knowledge is a very dangerous responsibility. As a rule acquisition of knowledge should bring about a healthy change in the one who acquires it. He should become a better man commensurate with the height of the scale of his knowledge. With the depth and expansion of knowledge a man should develop his sensibilities and ideas. He must become more broad-visioned, generous, forgiving, affectionate, upright, so on and so forth.

Iqbal observes :

آگہی از علم و فن مقصود نیست　　غنچہ و گل از چمن مقصود است
علم از سامان ِ حفظ ِ زندگی است　　علم از اسباب ِ تقویم ِ خودی است[3]

2. *Faiḍ al-Qadīr*, I, 44.

3. *Asrār-i Khudi*, p. 17. English trans. by R.A. Nicholson, *The Secrets of the Self*, p. 26,

[The object of science and art is not knowledge,
The object of the garden is not the bud and the flower.
Science is an instrument for the preservation of Life.
Science is a means of invigorating the Self.]

In the same strain, he mused in Urdu:

زندگی کچھ اور شے ہے ، علم ہے کچھ اور شے
زندگی سوزِ جگر ہے ، علم ہے سوزِ دماغ
علم میں دولت بھی ہے ، قدرت بھی ہے ، لذت بھی ہے
ایک مشکل ہے کہ ہاتھ آتا نہیں اپنا سراغ[4]

[Life is a thing quite different from knowledge.
Life is the burning of soul, while knowledge burns the brain.
Through knowledge one can get wealth, power and pleasure,
But the difficulty is that through it one cannot get any clue of one's own Self.]

Yes, one can, through the agency of knowledge, attain better means of livelihood. Knowledge procures better weapons, and makes man more powerfull. It can provide us with a comfortable and luxurious pattern of life and many things more. But all these things put together cannot be a proof of the gentlemanliness of the individual who possesses them. It is quite possible that a person who lacks education in morals may put all these amenities and accessories at the service of his baser self and hence may bring about his own ruin as well as of many others.

Maulānā Rūmī said rightly:

علم را بر تن زنی ' مارے بود   علم را بر دل زنی ' یارے بود[5]

[Knowledge, if it lie on thy skin, is a snake;

4. *Ḍarb-i Kalīm*, p. 79/514.
5. Quoted in *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 134/426; also in *Asrār-i Khudī*, p. 66. Nicholson, p. 129.

Knowledge, if thou take it to heart, is a friend.]

In the same strain chanted Iqbal :

علم را بے سوزِ دل خوانی شر است نورِ او تاریکیٔ بحر و بر است[6]

[Knowledge acquired without the warmth of heart is evil.
Its glow spreads darkness over land and sea.]

In ordinary sense knowledge is surely much preferable to ignorance. According to the Qur'ān :

هل یستوی الذین یعلمون و الذین لا یعلمون[7]

[Are the people who know and those who do not know equal ?]

Similarly, the Qur'ān says :

ما یستوی الاعمیٰ والبصیر[8]

[The blind man and the seeing are not alike.]

Here also it is clear. They are not equal. Yet where a man who possesses knowledge but does not put his knowledge to a positive use and, instead, makes his knowledge a tool for creating mischief, then people will surely prefer a peace-loving, ignorant man to a lettered person who is a mischief-monger.

Similarly, for a person who has eyes and chooses the path leading to evil instead of the one that leads to good, the people will surely have no respect. It is quite possible that they prefer to him a blind man who is well-meaning and good-intentioned. About such a person who has eyes but prefers evil things to good ones, people have a right to say that his eyes looked but did not perceive. Regarding such persons, the Qur'ān remarks :

6. *Armughān-i Ḥijāz*, p. 74/662. 7. xxxix. 9.
8. xxxv. 19.

فانها لا تعمى الابصار و لـٰكن تعمى القلوب التى فى الصدور[9]

[Truly it is not the eyes that become blind. It is in fact their hearts in their chests that lose sight.]

In short, true knowledge is that which oozes from the heart. Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī says:

لا ينفع لسان علیم و قلب جاہل[10]

[A perfectly learned tongue is of no use when the heart is uncultivated.]

In other words, knowledge also, like other assets such as power, wealth and weapons, is a dangerous responsibility for an uncultivated person. Knowledge is like a lamp in the dark, but the lamp has to guide and not to determine the path for the bearer. Whether one's aim is a sanctuary or a house of sin, the lamp has to show the way, but choosing of the way is the responsibility of the bearer of the lamp. Sun and moon are to give light but not to guide, not to compel any person to choose this path or that. Choice comes and should come from within. Iqbal says:

دلِ بینا بھی کر خدا سے طلب　　آنکھ کا نور، دل کا نور نہیں[11]

[Pray to God to give you a heart also that can perceive.
The light in eyes is not the light from heart.]

Teaching is of two kinds. One is conducted in words, expressions, lectures, books, etc., and is called "instruction". The other deals with spiritual upbringing, character-building, etc., and is called "education". Generally speaking, one is related to letters and the other with actions. But the tragedy is that in the contemporay era almost all over the world, "instruction"

9. xxii. 46.　　10. *Al-Fath al-Rabbānī*, p. 40.
11. *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 43/335.

stands for "education". Hence the aim of character-building is being universally neglected. This is why individuals without humaneness come out of "instruction centres" miscalled "educational institutions".

It is obvious, man has a body and a soul. The body is gross. It is matter and hence it is pulled towards the earth which is a huge mass of matter. The soul, on the other hand, is light and it elevates man to the upper heights, keeping him in a state of restlessness. This restlessness is not everybody's lot. It is for those who have an inkling of good as well as evil, those who know the difference between the two, those who want to be good but are dragged towards evil by their gross self, i.e. body. Sometimes they resist and desist. Sometimes their resistance gives way. This duel within one's own self goes on till one conquers the base elements of one's being or surrenders to them completely. Then the strife comes to an end. Well, how many are there whose souls subjugate their bodies and their control over them is always strong ?—Few, very few, in the world of man. Then we come to those who surrender to their unbridled instincts, in other words, savage ambitions. There may be millions of them in human societies. Yet the great majority belongs to these restless, unquiet and disturbed people who live between the two attractions, i.e. good and evil, soul and body, gross and fine, humaneness and animality. They are great people who endure these "ups and downs" and are not completely downed. Their strife goes on. They live.

Man may not be conscious of it, but his soul, which is an ember of some Divine spark, remains at work within and does not easily deliver itself to the slavery

of matter. The Qur'ān says:

و نفخت فیه من روحی[12]

[I breathed into him of My spirit,]

Therefore a man who is conscious of his "manhood" does not stoop down to earth without showing resistance. If he stoops down to earth and does not try to lift himself up, it means he gives himself to dust. This means he is satisfied to live an animal life at the scale of animals. He may still go down, because as animal can remain an animal for ever. A human being who surrenders before clay must be claimed by clay, by and by. Therefore such a person must go still lower and join the world of vegetables and may vegetate there. But how to stop at that? Only vegetables can vegetate for ever. A human being who begins to vegetate disintegrates into dust. Dust claims dust and he becomes dust. He who gives way to the force of bodily lusts cannot retain his self. His destination is dust. This is why I said they only live whose warfare with material being continues. They live as human beings. Those who join the world of animals may look like human beings, may appear in finely cut and gracefully tailored uniforms, with bewitching smiles on their faces, with seemingly refined etiquette and courtesy. They are, yet, dead as human beings. They are alive only as animals. They are driven hither and thither by their unbridled instincts. Their reason loses all control over their animal ambitions. It means the balance between spirit and clay could not be held, and a human being turned

12. xv, 29.

into a mere biped. Superficially such persons are alive, but the eyes with deeper insight find them just breathing deed bodies. How aptly says Iqbal :

دلے چوں صحبتِ گل می پزیرد ہماں دم لذتِ خوابش بگیرد
شود بیدار چوں 'من' آفریند چو 'من' محکومِ تن گردد بگیرد[13]

[A heart which accepts clay as an associate
Begins to take pleasure in sleep without delay.
It wakes up whenever it creates the self,
But when the self becomes a slave to the body, the heart dies.]

A person may look like an embodiment of culture. He may actually be a great scholar. He may be in a position to quote at random philosophers, sages and prophets. Yet it does not prove him to be a gentleman. A man can simultaneously be a high tower of knowledge and a deep, dark ditch in respect of character. It is quite possible. Le Compte Du Nouy observes and very rightly so :

Man must liberate himself from a bondage which is natural for animals and therefore evil for him. The soul of man demands complete mastery over the flesh.[14]

It is understandable that knowledge which is generally taken for an accumulation of information is a department quite different from eduation. Education deals with actions. Education must build man into a real man. For example, I say, Mr A is an eminent scholar of history and and authority on anthropology. Does it prove beyond doubt that he is a very kind and considerate neighbour ? And, again I say, Mr B has attainted the highest degree in geographical research from one of the renowned universities of U.K. Does it really certify that the scholar concerned is

13. *Armughān-i Ḥijāz*, p. 122/1004. 14. *Human Destiny*, p. 109.

a man who keeps promise? Yet again I say, Mr C has returned from England with fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons. Does it assure that the doctor concerned is a man of gentle habits? The ready and easy answer would be that this has got nothing to do with that. Well and good. But still the trouble is that, in spite of it, whenever we see or come to know of some scholar, a lettered man, or an accomplished individual doing something ungentlemanly, we are hurt. It shows that we usually forget that amassing of "knowledge" is a world far apart from "education". No doubt, knowledge sharpens intelligence and a person more accomplished is more capable of deriving benefits from studies and observations. One should not, however, ignore the fact that one's observations may be tainted with one's peculiar inclinations and outlook. A cultured and intelligent person is more capable of rising above the scale of personal interests or likes and dislikes, than a less intelligent and less cultivated person. But without education in moral values an intelligent person, who is a lettered one too, can surely play more havoc by putting his capabilities to wrong use. Again to quote Le Compte Du Nouy:

> Intelligence alone is dangerous if it is not subjected to intuition or rational perception of moral values. It has led not only to materialism but to monstrosities.[15]

And in this regard Iqbal remarks:

> Vision without power does bring moral elevation but cannot give a lasting culture. Power without vision tends to become destructive and inhuman. Both must combine for the spiritual expansion of humanity.[16]

15. Ibid., p. 111.
16. *The Recontruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 92.

We see every day the coquetry of intelligence not educated in humaneness, at national and international stages. The way the materialistic attitude has trampled upon human values can be well understood by the performance of world's most important international organisation, the U.N. There gather the most prominently lettered individuals coming from almost all countries of the world. These eminent representatives of the modern enlightenment are talented persons. equipped with diversified knowledge and acute intelligence. They are the cream of the nations. They are well-read, civilised and experienced. They are professors, advocates, industrialists, mathematicians, politicians, psychologists, statesmen and what not. But do they stand for righteousness and truth ? Do they stand for justice ? Is it not a fact that these dignified people use their talents to polish falsehood ? Is it not the fact that, even at this august forum, respect is shown to the individuals who are capable of committing treachery with civility and grace ? Are not the respective representatives of nations there to support untruth, tyranny and oppression if it suits their selfish ends ? Are not they expected to give and support wrong statistics where need be ? Are not they expected to overturn the meanings of justice and interpret fairplay as it suits their national purpose ? Are they not expected to be always ready to concoct wrong arguments and be prepared to prove their skil in practising sophistry ? As a result, a man who is more adept in distorting facts, who paints victimisation as a gesture of charity, is considered to be a great statesman and a splendid representative. This is what goes on at that forum, the highest

international forum : rigging in statistics, bungling in reports, researches and enquiries, fraud in the garb of friendship, deceit in taking and giving aids, treachery in negotiations for peace, misinterpretation of highhandedness and aggression and so on and so forth.

Yet among these elegant representatives of nations are scientists, philosophers, historians, mathematicians, economists and teachers of Moral Values. Anyway they are all highly qualified persons in their respective fields of accomplishment and experience. What moral values have they upheld ? What have they taught the world at large ? Have not they helped in demolishing the remnants of moral values ? Have they not dissipated savagery and barbarism ? Have they not promoted Charlatanism, Chauvinism and ethical anarchism ?

If they had worked for justice and fairplay and not for the "blocks," "spheres" and limited "national" interests, moreover if the consideration of "enemies" and "allies" had not obliged them to swindle, betray, and cheat and, still more, if they, instead, had upheld human values and principles of righteousness, they could have contributed a lot towards resuscitation of humanity which is ethically destitute. And they could have restored their confidence in their oft-repeated pronouncements regarding the establishment of equality, security, peace and progress for all. Positively practical examples of truthfulness, righteousness, propriety, sincerity, justice, sympathy, selflessness, and the like emanating from such a sublime forum would definitely have helped, to a considerable extent, in the rebuilding of

Unemployment, nudity, drinking and proverty :
These are the boons of European civilisation. What more can be asked for ?
People who are deprived of Divine blessings
Cannot progress beyond electric and steam power.
The rule of machines is killing for the soul.
Tools crush the sentiments of affection and benevolence.]

Knowledge devoid of Divine Light cannot be expected to teach man respect for man. Courtesy without faith in basic human values is nothing but mechanical courtesy or, we may say, hypocrisy. Good results are normally not attainable without sincere and good intentions. And it is well said by somebody : "Actions follow conviction and not knowledge." Inner revolution requires strong convictions. The change becomes visible through tendencies. If tendencies are good, the change may be called a happy one, otherwise unfortunate. It is the right conviction which is essential. But how is it to be had without Divine guidance? The Qur'ān inquires :

افلم يسيروا فى الارض فتكون لهم قلوب يعقلون بها او آذان يسمعون
بهاج فانها لا تعمى الابصار و لكن تعمى القلوب التى فى الصدور[19]

[Do they not travel through the land so that their hearts (and minds) may thus learn wisdom and their ears may thus learn to hear ? Truly it is not the eyes that become blind. It is in fact their hearts in their chests that lose sight.]

In this verse it is the non-believers and idol-worshippers of Mecca among the Quresh who are alluded to. They used to travel with their trade caravans. They went to the Yemen in the south and to

19. xxii. 46.

Syria in the north. It was a very wide range that they covered. They saw the ruins of the settlements where the mighty clans of 'Ād and Thamūd had dwelt. They had several times passed by the ruins of Sodom. Yet they learnt no lesson. They were the spectators of wide space but perceived nothing. Their inner eyes were blind.

With reference to the Beduins, the dwellers of the desert, who were new-comers to the fold of faith, the Qur'ān makes manifest the difference between Islam and *Īmān* :

قالت الاعراب آمنا قل لم تومنوا و لكن قولوا اسلمنا و لما يدخل الايمان فى قلوبكم[20]

[The wandering Arabs say : We believe. Say unto them, O Muhammad ! You believe not, but rather say : We submit (accept Islam). for faith has not yet entered into your hearts.]

To profess Islam is one thing but to believe in Islam is quite another matter. Profession means the acceptance of the principles only and it is a long way from acceptance of principles to the principles becoming Faith to live and die for. Profession of Islam cannot build a personality. It is Faith that does so, for it is Faith that revolutionises. Similarly, the impact of mere knowledge even if it be the knowledge of moral values becomes a motive force only when it is "soul-deep," when heart lives it. Abū Ṭālib Kalīm, a renowned poet of Persian, says :

دلِ آگاه می باید وگرنه گدا یک لحظه بے نام خدا نیست[21]

[It is a heart, aware and awake which is needed, otherwise Beggars go on reciting God's name incessantly.]

20. xlix. 14.

21. *Diwān-i Abū Ṭālib Kalim*, p. 135.

Do beggars really invoke God? The reply is obvious. Iqbal says:

تو عرب ہو یا عجم ہو ترا لا الٰہ الا !
لغتِ غریب ، جب تک تیرا دل نہ دے گواہی ![22]

[Whether you be an Arab or a non-Arab, your reciting *no god but God*
Is simply a foreign vocabulary unless your heart stands witness to what your tongue offers.]

In another verse he repeats the same theme:

دین ہو ، فلسفہ ہو ، فقر ہو ، سلطانی ہو
ہوتے ہیں پختہ عقاید کی بنا پر تعمیر ![23]

[Whether it be religion, philosophy, *faqr* (resigned content) or kingship,
Nothing can be built without strong convictions.]

Knowledge, in the real sense of the word, becomes knowledge only when it evolves into conviction. In M.C. Jaffrey's words: "Knowledge is a response of the truth within to the truth without."[24]

Separation of heart and intellect, in other words hypocrisy, is amongst the lamentable spiritual ailments of the world of man. Persons have lost individualities. Moods, aptitudes, likes, dislikes, tastes, ideas, principles and ideologies are fluid, hence unreliable. It means there are no identified and distinct selves. Without the self, self-confidence is unimaginable.

It would not be far from truth if we say that the contemporary world of man is suffering from abstractionism. It is now expressing itself in the abstract.

22. *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 45/337. 23. *Ḍarb-i Kalim*, p. 144.
24. *Personal Values in the Modern World*, p. 143.

Painting, poetry, songs, dances, friendship, even love have lost meanings. Painting is devoid of clarity, poetry neither carries belief nor conveys it, songs are nothing but rising and falling of voice. Dance is the "honourable" twist. Personalities have no aim, no faith, and no entity. Millions of them outwardly and millions of them inwardly are hippies. It looks as if man is not man but a torn envelope containing a meaningless letter, lying on a pavement, or is like a smuggled tape-recorder carrying hollow sounds and furies. If they are burdened with scholarship, never mind. Sa'dī of Shiraz (Iran) had perhaps such kind of persons in his mind when he said : چار پائے برو کتابے چند [A beast of burden loaded with books]. They change sides, like torn trousers hanging in the open air, with every blow of mind. Led by depraved desires they have lost all confidence in their selves. Therefrom they slip into the dark dens of low thinking and cowardice. They are heralds of good as well as of evil, for they have no standards of good and evil with them to discriminate the one from the other. Among them are erudite scholars. They are catalogues of books. They are gramophones emitting sounds borrowed from others. They are jolly parrots who can quote any author. Their memories are like books of reference, howsoever contradictory. They uphold and they denounce without comprehension.

Maulānā Rūmī ruminated and dolefully mused :

بستہ پائی چوں گیاہ اندر زمین   سر بجنبانی بہ بادے بے یقیں[25]

[Your feet are bound to the ground like the roots of grass,
And you nod to every wind credulously.]

25. M. Ṣādiq Rāzī, *Khulāṣah-i Mathnawi*, p. 13.

About these very people who have no moorings at all says Iqbal :

ازاں فکرِ فلک پیما چہ حاصل ؟ کہ گردِ ثابت و سیارہ گردد
مثالِ پارۂ ابرے کہ از باد بہ پہنائے فضا آوارہ گردد[26]

[What use that sky-high imagination
Which revolves round the stars and planets :
It is to be like a cloud that by the wind is being flown about in the void of the sky.]

26. *Armughān-i Ḥijāz*, p. 99/981.

8

HAFEEZ PAYS TRIBUTE TO IQBAL[1]

[Hafeez was born in January 1900 at Jullundar (now in India). He has the unique honour of having composed the National Anthem of Pakistan. He has published four books containing his *ghazals* and poems. He has versified the important events of the early history of Islam—a work which is titled *Shāh Nāmah-i Islām.* He has written about half a dozen books in prose as well, one of them containing his short stories. He is known in Pakistan and India as the Poet of Nature, the Poet of *Ghazal*, the Poet of *Git*, the Poet of Islam, the Poet of Kashmir and so on. His poetry has its own freshness of style and fragrance of originality.As for the musical quality of his verses, he is almost peerless. He occupies a significant place in the evolution of Urdu poetry.]

Time and again I had been pressing Hafeez Sahib to reveal why he had hitherto refrained from setting down an account of his memorable meetings with Allamah Iqbal. I pointed out that many gentlemen who had the good fortune of knowing the great poet had left graphic records of their reminiscences and that he should, at an appropriate time, also do the same. But, whenever I taxed him with such a proposition, he always managed to wriggle out on one pretext or another. Once, when I became a little too persistent, he lost his cool and exclaimed :

1. Originally written in Urdu : "Abul Athar Iqbal Ke Ḥuḍūr Men," and published in the Iqbal Number of Weekly *Chaṭān* (1963). It has been translated and adapted in English by Professor R.A. Khan, Assistant Professor of English, Government College, Lahore.

"My dear friend, people do not write graphic accounts from some disinterested or exalted motive ; what they really wish to do is to blow their own trumpet. Thank God, I have no need for such an exercise."

I had, however, resolved to draw him out on the subject one day and hoped to chronicle his valued observations. I knew that Hafeez was a living repository of the history of the last fifty years and that there was hardly a figure of consequence whom he had not met. However, at the moment, he appeared to be reluctant to part with his "secrets" and more inclined to take them away—be it after a hundred years—to the world hereafter.

I was pondering over the odds when a letter from the Editor of *Chatān* came as *deus ex machina* commanding me either to write a sweeping article on "Iqbal and His Adversaries" or seek an interview with Hafeez Jullundari in the context of his association with Allamah Iqbal, for the Iqbal Number of Weekly *Chatān*. I informed Hafeez Sahib in advance of my precise intentions and, after arguing him into a more receptive frame of mind, reached his lodge in fulfilment of my errand. Setting aside his mild and perfunctory protests, I came straight to the point and pushed forth my first question : When did you hear first of Allamah Iqbal ? He said : Probably at the age of eight when I was a student of Class III, but then the name spelled no magic for me. I suppose one is incapable of comprehending such things at so tender an age.

And, then, the dialogue proceeded thus :

Munawwar : Did you ever memorise the Allamah's

couplets when you were young?

Hafeez Sahib: No, because those were really the glorious days of Ḥālī's *Musaddas*[2] and its verses were at the height of their popularity. There was hardly any *Mīlād*[3] gathering where they were not recited and I knew many pieces by rote myself. Although I was still young, I had begun to be summoned to these august meetings and was increasingly in demand as I was more accomplished in rendering these *Na't* verses. Incidentally, one of Dr Iqbal's poems *Bulbul Kī Faryād* was part of our syllabus. Our teachers, unfortunately, mistook the "bulbul" for a real bird; the political symbolism indicating the enslaved society evidently escaped them. I spun my first couplet in Class II and first *ghazal* in Class VI. Poetry became my ruling passion and Dāgh, Amīr and Riyāḍ were my first loves. I also developed taste for Akbar's poems. The latter's profundity was beyond me but I was certainly enamoured of his satirical verse and admired the polish and precision of his couplets.

Munawwar: When did you have your first glimpse of Allamah Iqbal and how did you come by your first opportunity to meet him?

Hafeez Sahib: Way back in 1917 at a wartime *Mushā'irah* in Lahore when Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the Governor of the Punjab. It was a grand affair. If memory serves me right, the moving spirit behind the *Mushā'irah* was Khan Sahib Abdul Aziz, the Editor of *Ḥaqq*—a monthly, with a pronounced

2. Maulānā Alṭāf Ḥusain Ḥāli (d. 1914) versified briefly the history of the Islamic people with special reference to the Indian Muslims.

3. The Holy Prophet's birthday ceremony.

Anglophile stance. Apart from College wits, it was graced by the presence of many eminent figures of the day, Among the latter was Dr Muhammad Iqbal. The *Mushā'irah* had scarcely got off its feet when it fell a victim to utter confusion. One poet after other was hooted off the stage. Dr Narang's herculean efforts to calm the audience only added fuel to the fire and provoked a tidal wave of hissing which seemed beyond control. At their wit's end, they finally requested Allamah Iqbal, the then Doctor Iqbal, to face the crowd. The moment he arose, a cloak of silence fell on the audience. He stepped forward with a Persian poem on the prime requisites of a nation's character. The unruly crowd had succumbed to the charisma of a single man who left a lasting impression on me.

Then came the period of agitations against the notorious Rowlatt Acts. Political leaders like Dr Saifudin Kitchlew, Lala Dina Nath and Sardar Muta Singh came posthaste from Amritsar to attend an emergent meeting of the Provincial Congress at Jullundar. In search of poets the former made his way to my house. Having learnt from my father that I, indeed, "dabbled" in poetry, he urged me, as a matter of national duty, to come equipped with a poem for the occasion. Passions were running high and Jullundar was a city seething with political activity. I could not remain unaffected by this enveloping fervour and it gave a definite edge to my creative effort. Sardar Muta Singh and Lala Dina Nath having delivered their speeches, I came on the dais and rendered my poem. It was warmly acclaimed and Dr Kitchlew, in his later speeches, found frequent

cause for alluding to it. A few days later came the Jallianwala Bagh episode in which about five hundred people were gunned down mercilessly and thousands received serious injuries. Innumerable persons were also sent to jails. I alongwith many others was arrested and despatched to Lahore only to be released after three days.

It was probably at the Khilafat Conference at Amritsar that I had the signal honour to meet Dr Iqbal for the first time. The Ali Brothers,[4] recently released from Chhindwara Jail, graced the meeting and so did Ch. Shahabuddin. Allamah Iqbal recited his poem *Asīrī* (Imprisonment) on the occasion. When the meeting concluded, I made my way through the crowd and had the privilege to shake hands with the great poet. Dr Kitchlew introduced me to him as "our young and fiery poet". I will always treasure the memory of that precious moment.

I was then an ardent pupil of Girami Sahib, the great living poet of thePersian language who had returned to Jullundar on retirement from Hyderabad State. Whenever I went to Lahore to look up my relations, I never failed to pay my respects to Allamah Iqbal. Even I was and am still the bearer of the letters sent to him by my venerable tutor. In those days Allamah Iqbal resided in the upper storey of a mansion in Anarkali, the most beautiful and crowded bazar in Lahore. Although the back-room of this house was

4. Maulānā Muḥammad 'Alī Jauhar and his elder brother, Maulānā Shaukat 'Alī, both lion-hearted freedom-fighters. The former, while addressing the First Round Table Conference held in London towards the end of 1930, declared that he would win freedom there and then and would never return to India as a slave. A few days after this pronouncement he died in London and was buried at Jerusalem in Palestine.

his usual sanctum, he would at times emerge in the evenings and settle in the balcony to observe the jostling and sprightly crowds in the shopping alley. On a few occasions I had the honour to visit him in the company of Girami Sahib and sat with bated breath while the two masters conversed at length on the finer aspects of poetry and poetics. Allamah Iqbal showed a deep regard for Girami's critical opinions and referred to his judgment even when his own verses happened to come under scrutiny. At a function of Anjuman-i Himayat-i Islam, Dr Iqbal was to describe him as a laureate of Persian poetry, a rare luminary, whom posterity would justifiably be proud of.

In 1921, fully armed with a recommendatory letter from Girami Sahib, I called on Allamah Iqbal to solicit a *ghazal*, to include it in my new literary venture, *I'jāz*. Regretting his inability to oblige me with a complete *ghazal* he observed : "I am afraid, my performance these days is no better than that of a tract of fertile land which, under constant ploughing, tends to grow barren. Therefore, content yourself with these two couplets ; they are the most recent."

In 1922, when I had decided to settle in Lahore, the Allamah had moved to a bungalow on the McLeod Road, where I had frequent opportunities to call on him in the company of my friends, Abdul Majeed Salik, Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash and Nishtar Jullundari—all poets.

Munawwar : Did Allamah ever ask your group to recite verses of their own?

Hafeez Sahib : Yes, he did ask us once. Of course.

I could not dare be so presumptuous, but Nishtar Jullundari rushed ahead with the *ghazal* he had composed on a metrical format similar to one of the Allamah Sahib's. He responded to the poem most indifferently and we certainly felt much embarrased. It was about this time that a poem of mine *Furṣat Kī Talāsh* (In Search of Leisure) was published in the daily *Zamindar*. *Oudh Punch*, which generally published articles of satirical nature, lashed out at it as utter balderdash and it was heartily parodied. I was girding up my loins to settle the score when the Doctor Sahib strongly dissuaded me from doing so with the observation that it was always the fate of a rising genius to suffer such indignity.

In 1923-24, while I was functioning as an editor of *Phūl* (Flower) and the *Tahdhīb* (Culture), adverse criticism on the work of Allamah Iqbal began to appear in a Hindu daily. The critic wrote under the pseudonym of "Jarrāḥ" and my pupils spared no effort in paying him in the same coin. However, certain people who bore malice towards me accused me roundly of being the perpetrator of this grand hoax. Convinced that I was running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, they chalked out a plan to give me a sound thrashing. Fortunately, the plan fizzled out as it came to light soon that the "Jarrāḥ Ṣāḥib" was none but Pandit Lakshmi Ram Josh Malsiani, a colleague of Dr Iqbal and a student of Dāgh. The critical onslaughts ceased.

In 1925, after a brief sojourn in one of the princely states, I returned to Lahore and revived the *Makhzan*, once a popular literary magazine which had commenced in 1901 with Sir Abdul Qadir as its

Editor. I called on Allamah Iqbal and requested him to oblige me with a *ghazal* from *Payām-i Mashriq* which was then on the verge of publication. He promptly turned down my request and said that I could make use of some verses only after the publication of the book. I felt crestfallen, but learnt a lesson for all times to come. Never again I was so rash.

Munawwar : Did Allamah Iqbal ever call upon you to recite your own poem ?

Hafeez Sahib : Well, it so happened that one day Sir Rāss Mas'ūd (a grandson of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan) chanced to drop in at my place in Model Town. His glance fell on the open leaves of my poem "Tīn Naghmay [Three Psalms] : Tagore, Iqbal, Hafeez" which I had composed sometime after the publication of the first volume of the *Shāh Nāmah.* Visibly touched by this manifestation of my profound respect for the Allamah, he did not waste a moment and leading me straight into the Allamah's presence, he said : "Sir, here is your diffident admirer. He sings praises in your honour, but is frightfully shy of reciting them in your presence." The Allamah Sahib inquired whether it was true and commanded me to read what I had brought. It was an awe-inspiring and unforgettable moment of my life. The great man was greatly moved at one of my verses.

Sir Rāss continued extolling me but at the moment he was most eager to learn what the great master had to say of me. "Hafeez-ji," said Allamah Iqbal, "your composition is strongly reminiscent of the late Girami Sahib. He has, indeed, given you an excellent grounding for which you should be eternally indebted to him ; and, by the way, do drop in

whenever you are so inclined."

I was so tied down to work in those days that I seldom found an opportunity to visit him. On the other hand, the Allamah Sahib himself was awfully occupied in charting the course of his own election to the then Punjab Council. I was one of his most vociferous supporters and in the process found myself being beaten up by members of the opposite camp and was rescued only with the timely arrival of my own group.

Daulat Ram, a close friend of Allamah Iqbal and a leading figure of Ferozepur, arranged a *Mushā'irah* to celebrate the electoral triumph of the Allamah. Contrary to his expectations, Dr Iqbal declined to preside over or participate in the *Mushā'irah*, but was, however, gracious enough to assure Daulat Ram that he would provide him with the best poets for the eve. I was included in the group that left for Ferozepur. Besides other poems, I also recited "Abhī To Main Jawān Hūn" (I Am Still Young) and "Piye Chalā Jā" (Go on Drinking). The *Mushā'irah* was all success. On our way back to Lahore the Allamah Sahib remarked that he had followed the entire proceedings including my poems, from behind the tent. I pricked up my ears. After a pause he asked me if I had ever tasted wine. When I replied in the negative, he was at a loss to understand how I had managed to compose a bacchanalian piece like "Piye Chalā Jā". I quelled his curiosity by reminding him of his own words : "A poet's imagination should be transcendental."

I recall the day when a grand exhibition was organised at the newly laid out Minto Park. Tagged

to it as a second fiddle was a *Mushā'irah* and the moving spirit behind it was none but Mian Bashir Ahmad of the *Humāyūn*.[5] My group of friends, which included Dr Taseer, had earlier decided to boycott the affair; therefore, when the Mian Sahib sought my participation, I declined under the pretext that I disliked associating myself with "the exhibition-cum-*Mushā'irah* eves". However, when the show began, I was taken aback to see all my worthy dissuaders safely ensconced in the front rows. Saghir and Josh Malihabadi had also come to contribute their share. The latter, in particular, put forth a sorry performance and in the midst of a large gathering of Hindus and Sikhs, scoffed at Islam with a complete abandon. The next day the Allamah Sahib took me to task. He took serious exception to my absence from the *Mushā'irah* of the previous evening. Incensed at the irreverence and scepticism which certain poets were trying to spread through their verses, he directed me to spare no effort. The Allamah Sahib was right in rebuking me for my utter failure. Believe me, his very rebuke was even a badge of honour for me.

Munawwar : Is it true that Allamah Iqbal discouraged you in your project of writing the *Shāh Nāmah*?

Hafeez Sahib : Yes, he felt that the presentation of the chronological history of an extensive period

5. Mian Bashir Ahmad was the Editor of the *Humāyūn*, a celebrated literary magazine which had been serving the cause of the Urdu language for more than thirty years. He was one of the important lieutenants of the Pakistan Movement. He was trusted by Quaid-i Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who had appointed him a member of the Working Committee of the Muslim League. After the emergence of Pakistan, the Mian Sahib served as an Ambassador of Pakistan to Turkey. He died in 1970.

in a versified form would only result in becoming abstruse and have no utility beyond gathering dust in the library. He proposed that I should follow the example set by Shibli and compose short poems on Islamic subjects. I overlooked his advice and forged ahead with my *magnum opus*. However, when the first volume appeared the Allamah Sahib was undoubtedly pleased with it. This is borne out by the fact that when I was about to leave for Ḥajj, he fervently insisted that I should take the *Shāh Nāmah* with me and, if possible, dedicate it to the eternal glory of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him).

In later years when excruciating pains made his life insufferable, he often asked me to recite those verses from the *Shāh Nāmah* which spoke of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). He was drawing near his death. His last behest was that I should not forget to write his elegy. I was destined to compose more than one elegy in his memory. Dr Allamah Muhammad Iqbal was, indeed, the man with an immortal spirit, a spirit that will march on triumphantly and reanimate the desiccated souls of every generation. To me, an "elegy" on Iqbal is a contradiction in terms and a misnomer, for, "can you 'mourn' a soul that never dies"?

Munawwar : What is your opinion about Allamah Iqbal's poetic art ?

Hafeez Sahib : He was exceedingly careful in the selection of words. He had high themes. Words had to tone with them. He, as is the case with all thinker-poets, had to coin phrases commensurate with his ideas. Sometimes he bestowed absolutely new meanings on words in common use. In this regard I know none

else amongst the Urdu poets who laboured so conscientiously. The arrangement of words, keeping their sound effect in mind and their consonance with the metre and attunement with the theme is a blood-sucking job. He was so successful as an artist that the words in his verses which otherwise were heavy became light as rose petals. He brought down slabs and arranged them so artfully that they looked to be jewels.

FINIS

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